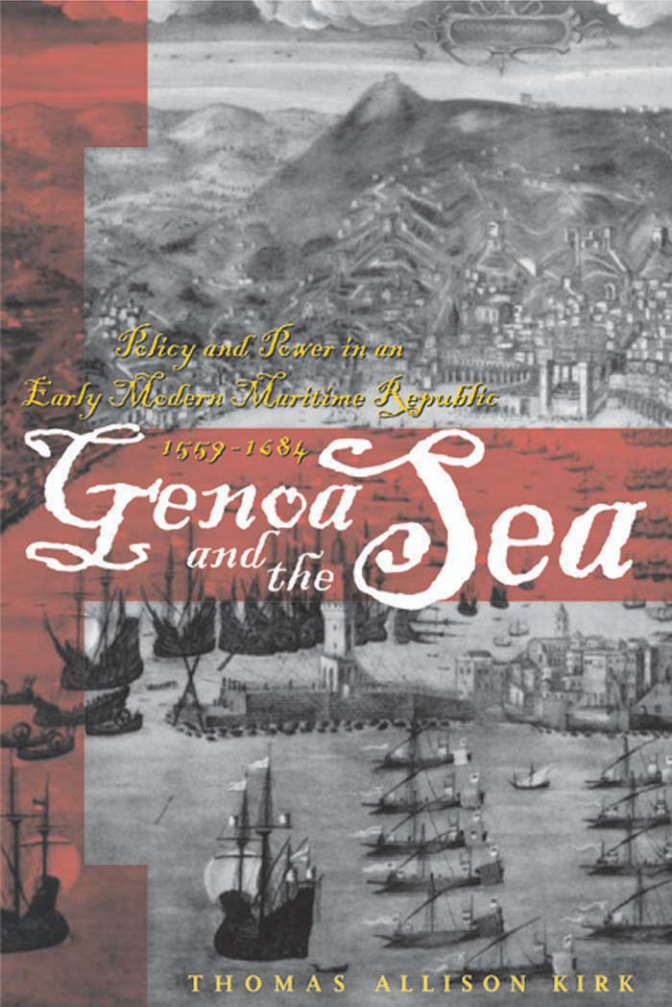

Policy and Power in an
Early Modern Maritime Republic
1559-1684
Genoa and the Sea
THOMAS ALLISON KIRK

VISIT…

Genoa and the Sea

The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science

123rd series (2005)

1. Stephen G. Alter, *William Dwight Whitney and the Science of Language*

2. Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe*

3. Thomas Allison Kirk, *Genoa and the Sea: Policy and Power in an Early Modern Maritime Republic, 1559–1684*

Genoa and the Sea

Policy and Power in an Early Modern Maritime Republic, 1559–1684

Thomas Allison Kirk

The Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore

This book has been brought to publication with the generous assistance of the Pribram Fund.

© 2005 The Johns Hopkins University Press
All rights reserved. Published 2005
Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper

Johns Hopkins Paperback edition, 2013
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The Johns Hopkins University Press
2715 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21218-4363
www.press.jhu.edu

The Library of Congress has catalogued the hardcover version of this book as follows:

Kirk, Thomas Allison, 1962–
Genoa and the sea : policy and power in an early modern maritime republic, 1559–1684 / Thomas Allison Kirk.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8018-8083-1 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Genoa (Italy)—History—1528–1789. 2. Genoa (Italy)—History, Naval—17th century. 3. Genoa (Italy)—History, Naval—16th century. 4. Genoa (Italy)—Commerce—History—17th century. 5. Genoa (Italy)—Commerce—History—16th century. 6. Genoa (Italy)—Economic conditions—17the century. 7. Genoa (Italy)—Economic conditions—16th century. I. Title.
DG638.3.K57 2005
945′. 18207—dc22 2004015976

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN-13: 978-1-4214-0966-5
ISBN-10: 1-4214-0966-6

Special discounts are available for bulk purchases of this book. For more information, please contact Special Sales at 410-516-6936 or specialsales@press.jhu.edu.

The Johns Hopkins University Press uses environmentally friendly book materials, including recycled text paper that is composed of at least 30 percent post-consumer waste, whenever possible.

Contents

	List of Illustrations and Tables	*vii*
	Preface	*ix*
	Acknowledgments	*xv*
1	The Republic Genoa in the Early Modern World	3
2	The Genoese and the Republic of Genoa	29
3	Public Galleys and Private Interests, 1559–1607	51
4	Diplomacy and the Rearmament Debate: The Weight of the Spanish Alliance, 1607–1640	84
5	The Lure of the World's Seas, 1640–1680	117
6	Galleons, Galleys, and the Free Port: Ships and Power in a Little Country	151
7	Conclusion: A Century of Ships and Paper	186
	Appendix A. Operating Costs of "Free Galleys," 1646	*203*
	Appendix B. Breakdown of Annual Operating Expenses of a Mixed-Crew Galley, 1652	*204*
	Notes	*209*
	Bibliography	*257*
	Index	*269*

This page intentionally left blank

Illustrations and Tables

Maps

The Western Mediterranean 2

The Republic of Genoa in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries 4

Figures

Cristoforo Grassi, *View of Genoa in 1481* 6

Dionisio di Martino, *Excavation of the Sea Bed between the Spinola and Calvi Piers in 1597* 33

Palazzo San Giorgio 49

Giovanni Andrea Doria 73

View of the Island of Tabarka 82

Palazzo Ducale 83

Cornelius de Wael, *Troops Embarking on a Galley in the Port of Genoa* 101

The darsena and arsenal complex, detail of a seventeenth-century view of the city 115

"Occhiello" of Giovanni Bernardo Veneroso's *Genio Ligure Risvegliato* 122

A Dutch sailing vessel and a galley at anchor 148

Genoa in the early eighteenth century 152

Tables

1 The twenty-eight *alberghi* created by the reforms of 1528 25

2 Families composing the "old nobility" 25

3 Genoese involvement in loans to the Spanish crown, 1520–1556 31

4 Total income and total expenses of the Magistrato delle galere and income from freight charges, 1611–1639 87

5 Publicly owned galleys and galleons in the service of the Republic of Genoa 120

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

In contrast to most English-language scholarship on early modern Italy, this book focuses on the Republic of Genoa. British and American works have tended to give pride of place to the republics of Florence and Venice, often to some aspect of the former's turbulence and its transformation into an "absolutist" state in the sixteenth century or to the seemingly eternal stability of the latter. Although some effort has been made in the past two decades to redress this bias in more general works dealing with the entire peninsula, all in all the imbalance remains. One of the aims of this study is to contribute to our understanding of the diverse society of early modern Italy. The choice of the Republic of Genoa as the center of our attention, however, does not represent a random selection of yet another Italian state to be contrasted to Florence and Venice but a deliberately chosen observation point on the Mediterranean world and the changing relationship between that world and the rest of Europe in a period of sweeping transformations.

Prior to the interest in the activities of the Genoese bankers in Madrid and, to a lesser extent, the Genoese merchants in Seville—raised in the 1960s and 1970s by Fernand Braudel and Felipe Ruiz Martin—almost no studies were available in English on the Genoese of the early modern period (a situation that persists if we bear in mind that neither of these two historians is an Anglophone). Even since then, the few references made to the Genoese tend more often to be concerned with individual Genoese or groups of Genoese citizens rather than with the Republic of Genoa.[1] In Italian, on the other hand, a rich tradition of local Genoese histories compares with that of most regions of Italy; some are of very high quality, but many suffer from all the weaknesses typical of the genre—a strictly regional scope. In recent years a small group of historians at the University of Genoa has made significant contributions toward use of the regional model, based on the region of Liguria, as a paradigm for phenomena that were very widespread in early modern Europe. Edoardo Grendi in particular comes to mind, but also Giorgio Doria, Giuseppe Felloni, and Rodolfo

Savelli. This work is meant to follow the example of these historians in using a study based on a circumscribed political unit, the Republic of Genoa, as a means of developing a political and economic model that can be applied to other regions and political units (whether states or classes) in early modern Europe.

As a means of pursuing this goal I have chosen to examine the republic's maritime policy—the construction of a standing military fleet, fiscal policy regarding port traffic, efforts to stimulate or subsidize shipping, efforts to increase port traffic and maritime commerce—as a significant point of encounter. Here, political debate, commercial structures, and international relations all come together to form a unique vantage point for observing the transformations taking place in Europe, against the backdrop of European expansion and the ongoing struggle between Spain and France, early modern Christendom's superpowers. Such an examination is based primarily on a textual analysis of contemporary assessments of the political climate, commercial trends, and the like and the many proposals made to modify the republic's maritime policy. Particular attention is given to those projects that in one way or another were put into practice, and especially to the modifications made between formulation and realization. It is precisely these modifications that serve as a key to understanding the priorities set by the men of the day, but they also reveal contemporary perceptions of the social and economic worlds and the way in which those two worlds interacted. This choice of focus has determined the chronological period dealt with in this book. Although Andrea Doria's successful coup of 1528 and the enactment of sweeping constitutional reforms in that year provide an obvious starting point for a panorama of Genoese society and the state's political structure, a tangible maritime policy emerges only in 1559 with the creation of a permanent state body charged with overseeing a publicly owned squadron of vessels. Chronologically this coincided with another event that makes for a convenient reference point in historical periodization: the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis between the houses of Habsburg and Valois. The end point of the period to be dealt with was even more readily apparent. In the wake of the French bombardment of the city in 1684 the Republic of Genoa cut the size of its galley squadron and in 1689 eliminated the squadron of sailing warships altogether. From that point on there were no significant changes in maritime or naval policy until the republic's fall to Napoleon in 1797.

The final phases of the political and economic parabola described in this book were marked by the loss of Genoese illusions regarding the republic's ability to compete militarily with nation-states and national navies. This analysis of

events should prove useful to current research on the relationship between the establishment of permanent navies and state building. The decision of the Republic of Genoa to abandon its efforts to create a force capable of projecting sea power, opting instead for fiscal instruments in order to reach the same goals, could represent an interesting variant on the trends described in Jan Glete's stimulating *Warfare at Sea, 1500–1650*.[2]

The approach adopted here owes a great deal to Karl Polanyi's conception of the role of economics in premodern and early modern societies as a critique of analyses based strictly on classical economic models. It also relies on the methods of textual analysis developed by the philologist Hans Robert Jauss as a tool for examining a succession of proposed solutions to problems that, like society, are in constant evolution. In other words, in order to understand fully the actions of the real people, who are the historical subjects under study, it is necessary to sidestep a posteriori conceptions based on the *homo œconomicus* of classical economics and adopt a view in which the economy is an integrated element of society.

The highly refined techniques of Genoa's merchants and bankers coupled with the advanced nature of the ample capitalistic element of early modern Genoese society have promoted a view of the city as the capitalist city par excellence, but this potential trap can lead to reading behavior in anachronistic terms. Many practices and institutions of the republic cannot be understood in terms of rational economic behavior and yet by no means should they be considered archaic,[3] a view that simply offers a corresponding and symmetric trap. The historical actors' changing horizons of expectations must be analyzed through an integral view of society and in light of the progressive development of the republic's policy. Conjunctures on an international and even worldwide scale, which affected the republic in a dialectical fashion, contributed to changing the material circumstances in which the republic's citizens were obliged to operate (changing structures of trade, shifts in international political equilibria, and the like), but they also constituted an external stimulus for the modification of society's vision of its environment.

Therefore, the following is neither wholly a work of economic history nor a study in political history, but rather an attempt to grasp a point of encounter between the two and to follow that point of encounter through the evolution of both economic and political structures.

This book is divided into two distinct sections. The first part, chapters 1 and 2, provides a general overview of the Republic of Genoa as it appeared in the

first half of the sixteenth century. A brief summary is given of the late medieval trends and events contributing to shape the republic politically and economically during the first decades of the early modern period. This introduction is followed by an overview of the republic's constitutional structure and the various divisions within its society: the organs that governed the republic, the factional divisions and the role of such divisions in the distribution of political power, the bases of economic influence, and the mechanisms relating such influence to both domestic and international politics. The size and nature of the Genoese presence at sea are examined as well, together with the importance of the port to the city. The second distinct section of the book (chapters 3–6) follows the evolution of the Republic of Genoa's maritime policy in relation to internal politics and international diplomacy through three distinct phases: a period of internal conflict and the subsequent consolidation of the ruling class, a phase characterized by intense financial activity at the Spanish court; the relatively long period of financial withdrawal and political distancing from Spain, characterized by various attempts to reinvent the republic's maritime vocation and the lack of a single coherent maritime policy; and the period of concerted efforts to relaunch Genoa as a maritime power followed by the definitive adoption of a free-port policy as an alternative to military armament.

A word is due concerning proper names and the transcription of manuscript sources. In the texts and documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries family names do not follow a fixed form and spelling but often vary, according to the rules for Italian adjectives. In other words, when referring to a sole male, the masculine singular is used; for a group the plural is used. For example, Andrea Giustinian*o* was elected doge in 1539, but his daughter Geronima was referred to as Geronima Giustinian*a*; the wife of Doge Giovanni Battista Lomellin*o* (1646–48) was Giovanna Lomellin*a* and so forth. For the sake of uniformity and in order to avoid confusion I have standardized the spelling of variable family names based on the modern form adopted in more recent times. This form usually coincides with the genitive case (Giustiniani, Grimaldi, Lomellini, etc.). Furthermore, in transcribing the original Italian of the texts quoted, I have eliminated the many abbreviations that characterize the documents of the period, but I have left the original punctuation and spelling, making modifications only where the idiosyncrasies of the original could hamper comprehension of the texts. Quantities of money are expressed in the currency used in the original manuscripts. Unless otherwise specified the figures in lire

refer to the Genoese *lira di moneta corrente*, the unit of account. *Lire di paghe* refers to the nominal value of *luoghi*, or shares, from the Bank of Saint George (the Banca di San Giorgio or Casa di San Giorgio) that have not yet reached maturation and whose value therefore depends on their year of issue; they gain in value over their five-year course of maturation and at the end of that period are equivalent to the *lire di moneta corrente*. The *scudo di marco* is the unit of account used at the Piacenza exchange fairs, whereas the *scudo di oro in oro* and the *scudo d'argento* are coins in circulation (the gold and silver crown). The gold crowns produced at the "cinque stampe" of Florence, Genoa, Naples, Spain, and Venice had the same intrinsic and nominal value; for all practical purposes they were equivalent. The *ducato* (ducat) referred to is always the Spanish ducat (and *not* the older Genoese or Venetian coins of the same name), which in the sixteenth century was both coin and unit of account (the equivalent of 375 maravedís).

Finally, at least one of the weak points of the present work must be pointed out at the very beginning. There are a great many individuals mentioned who played roles of varying importance in the course of events discussed, and it would be quite useful to the reader and scholar to have some biographical material available concerning the historical actors mentioned that would offer the possibility of reconstructing the network of social and economic relationships revolving around them. Unfortunately, given the scope of this study and the number of people in question, it has not been possible to provide more than the most summary information in some cases, while in others I have had to rely on generalizations based on information regarding the broad orientations of families of origin. I hope to remedy this flaw through future research.

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

Unfortunately there is not enough room to thank all of the people who have contributed to the completion of this book, but I do feel compelled to mention the considerable help, criticism, and patience offered by Kirti Chaudhuri and Franco Angiolini, as well as the valuable suggestions and archival references given by Rodolfo Savelli. I would also like to thank Olwen Hufton, Laurence Fontaine, and Richard Mackenney for their useful comments on previous and less complete manuscript versions of this book (needless to say, blame for the work's many shortcomings must fall on its author alone). A word of thanks also goes out to Hilary Appleyard and Brian MacDonald for their pains in rendering my English legible. It goes without saying that I am greatly indebted to the staffs of the various archives and libraries in which I have worked, especially to the very helpful personnel of the Archivio di Stato di Genova and the Biblioteca Civica Berio, also in Genoa. Furthermore, I am grateful to the Portuguese National Commission for the Commemoration of Portuguese Discoveries, and to Mary Kirk Wenger and Rosaria Lo Russo, without whom this work would not have been possible. A final word of thanks must also go to my friends in the Sala Niobe of the European University Institute for offering just the right amount of distraction. In the words of the Genoese academic Ansaldo Cebà, "mi consolo, che quel che non mi serve per pagarvi il debito, mi vaglia almeno per confessarvelo."

This page intentionally left blank

Genoa and the Sea

The Western Mediterranean

CHAPTER ONE

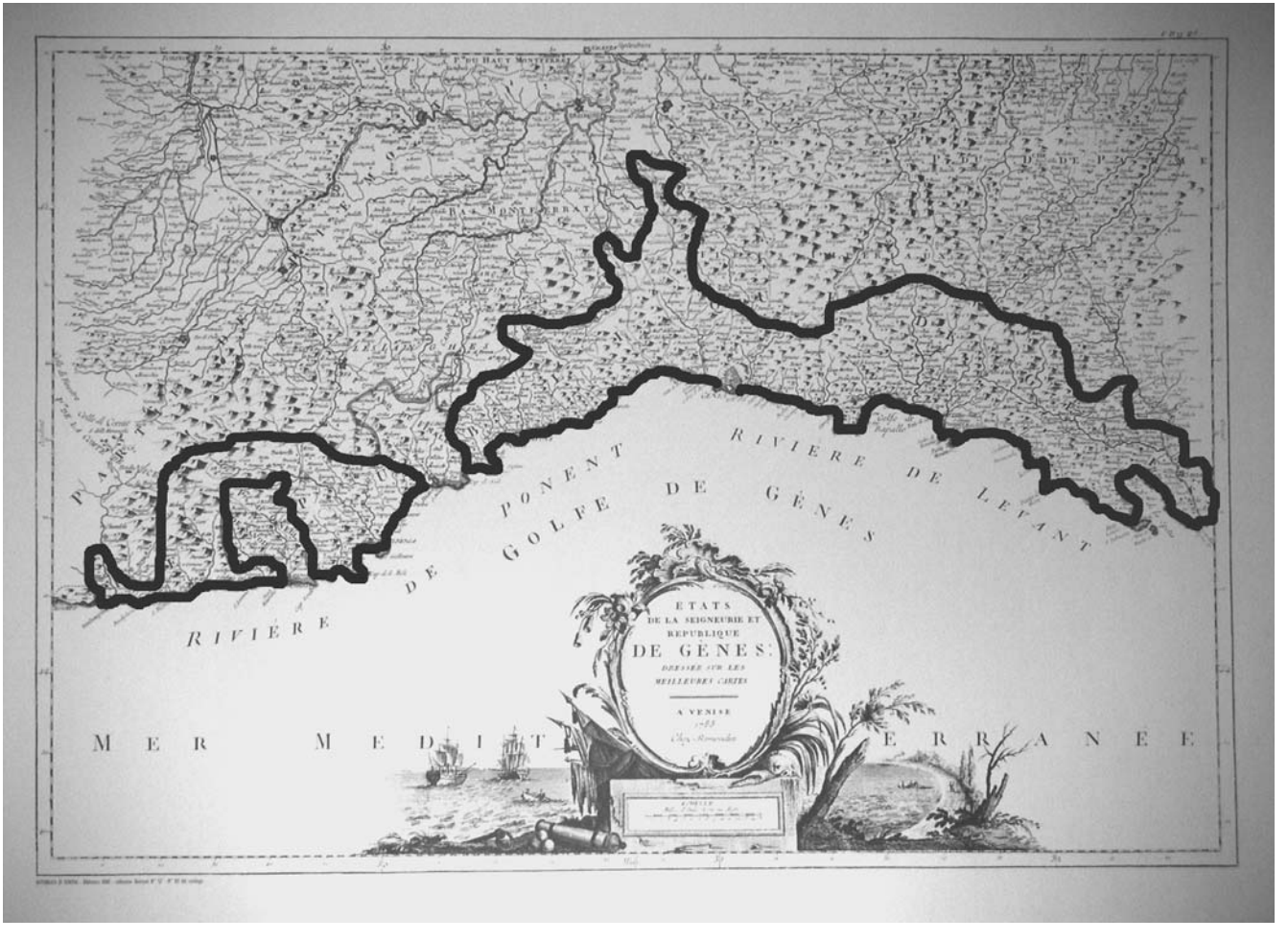
The Republic of Genoa in the Early Modern World

> L'altra verità che io raccolgo dalle parole del Savio si è, che Dio mischiando con la nostra utilità la sua gloria col mezo della navigazione, ci ha data la più facile, e propria maniera, che desiderar si potesse, per istabilire fra popoli della terra una perfetta, ed universale società, essendo che gliene vengono tre beni, i più importanti, ed i migliori. Il primo la civiltà del costume; il secondo la communicazione dell'arti, e delle scienze; ed il terzo il trasporto delle mercadanzie, per servire alle necessità di ciascheduno paese, come vogliamo dimostrare.[1]
>
> —T. PALLAVICINO,
> *Della Navigazione e del Commercio*, 5–6

Genoa's Place in Mediterranean History

Genoa faces the sea. Hemmed in on all sides by steep hills and mountains, the city is an amphitheater centered around the watery stage of its circular port. The rivers Bisagno and Polcevera reach the sea immediately to the east and west of Genoa, respectively, providing a natural boundary for the city's growth along the coast, in effect limiting it to the area nearest the port. Not simply barriers, however, the rivers, also carve out the mountain passes leading to Piedmont and Lombardy and hence to the Po valley and the major Alpine passes. Situated at the northernmost point of the Tyrrhenian Sea, Genoa marks the beginning of the shortest overland route between the western Mediterranean and northern Italy, or, reversing the image, the nearest Tyrrhenian port for goods and travelers from the north.

The shortest route, though, was not necessarily the easiest route. The mountains that line the Ligurian *riviera* are steep and relatively barren, and their watershed lies surprisingly close to the coast. The rivers, therefore, can vary with the seasons, from raging mountain torrents in the spring and autumn to parched


ETATS
DE LA SEIGNEURIE ET
REPUBLIQUE
DE GENES.
DRESSÉE SUR LES
MEILLEURES CARTES
A VENISE
1753
MER MEDITERRANEE
RIVIERE DE PONENT
GOLFE DE GENES
RIVIERE DE LEVANT

creekbeds in the summer. Because the rivers are not navigable, travel and transport from Genoa to the interior went by mule train over tortuous mountain paths. Unlike other great Mediterranean ports, Genoa was not blessed with a great river route to the interior or a broad coastal plain, nor was it the central place of a fertile environment favoring the easy formation, and sustenance, of a large city. The construction of a territorial state did not change this situation. The strip of land assembled under Genoese control never extended inland over the mountains, with the exception of the area immediately north of the dominant city itself. Apart from a small plain near the port of La Spezia, at the extreme eastern end of Genoese territory, the terrain is mountainous with little fertile soil.

The site occupied by modern Genoa was in ancient times a temporary point of encounter where the indigenous Ligurii, primarily mountain dwellers, met with Phoenician and Greek traders. The area gained importance briefly in the second century BCE when the Ligurii were confederated to republican Rome and Genoa was connected to the Roman system of roads, the Via Postumia connecting it to the interior in 148 BCE. The settlement that emerged was never of great importance during Roman times, though, and never reached the degree of development of Pisa, for example, which was not only an important port of trade but also the site of a veteran colony and a significant center for the production of pottery. Genoa's ancient period of relative importance was even short-lived. At the end of the second century BCE much of Liguria was bypassed with the opening of the Via Aemilia Scauri, which carried most of the traffic between the Po valley and Gaul. We can imagine that Genoa gained more significance during the later imperial period than the scant evidence suggests, because both Pavia and Milan grew in importance during the late empire and Genoa would have been the nearest outlet to the sea. It appears to have been one of the main points connecting the Italian coast with southern Gaul and the Iberian coast, especially during the fourth century.[2]

Very little is known about the centuries following the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. With the disintegration of the Roman state the roads that it

Opposite: The Republic of Genoa in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. The two areas that create a gap in the republic's control of the coastline are Oneglia (furthest west) and the Marquisate of Finale. Originally a feud of the Doria, Oneglia was purchased by the house of Savoy in 1576. Finale, an imperial feud of the Del Carretto family, was occupied and then purchased by the Spanish in 1598. The marquisate finally became territory of the republic in 1713.

Cristoforo Grassi, *View of Genoa in 1481*. Museo Navale di Genova. (Photo courtesy of Musei Civici, Genova; Archivio Fotografico del Comune di Genova.)

had maintained fell into disrepair, a situation that would have favored seaborne communication. Although this was a period of general contraction, both economically and demographically, some redistribution of economic importance and demographic concentration is likely. In other words, in spite of widespread contraction, the city could have gained importance in relative terms. A letter from Cassiodorus, for example, informs us that during the Ostrothic period there had been some revival of the Jewish community in Genoa, suggesting that the city was part of the long-distance trading networks of the very early medieval period.[3] Genoa came under Byzantine control in 537 and remained in Greek hands until 642 when King Rothari of the Lombards conquered it.[4] Just how much of a town Rothari conquered is the object of some contention. Was it a florid Byzantine outpost or little more than a fishing village?

In either case, under the Lombards, and later the Carolingians, Genoa was neither an important port nor a naval center. The medieval Via Francigena followed the interior route between the kingdom of the Franks and Italy, again leaving Genoa off the main thoroughfare, and what naval power the Franks had was based on the Tuscan coast near Lucca.[5] While there is ample evidence against the thesis advanced by Henri Pirenne several decades ago that trade among peoples living on the Mediterranean shores of Christendom ground

nearly to a halt in the wake of eighth-century Muslim expansion, it would be equally wrong to exaggerate the importance of trade in the western Mediterranean, at least in lands under Christian rule.

During the ninth century, another shift of power in the western Mediterranean most certainly did not play in Genoa's favor. The rise of the Aghlabite rulers of Tunisia marked the decline of Abbasid influence in northern Africa and led to Muslim expansion in the central and western Mediterranean. In fact, the Muslim forces that landed in Sicily in 827 came from Aghlabite Ifriqiya, whereas the Muslim raiders that established themselves in and around Fraxinetum circa 889 came from the Balearic Islands. Any maritime activities that were still being carried on in Genoa became decidedly more dangerous in the ninth century. Genoa was apparently the intended victim of a Muslim squadron that was defeated in 930 or 931 by the Byzantine fleet still active in Sardinia. A Fatimid fleet attacked the *riviera* in 934, even penetrating the hinterland in search of booty and prisoners. A second expedition was then sent against Genoa, taking and looting the city and, it is said, killing the male population and making off with a 1,000 female prisoners.[6]

The very thorough sack of Genoa in 934 or 935 at the hands of North African Muslims does, however, shed some light on a very obscure moment of the city's history. A Muslim account of the raid describes Genoa as a substantial town with goods worth taking: linen thread and cloth, and raw silk. The presence of these goods would tend to support the idea that the city was active in some sort of trade, but also the very fact that the Muslim raiders considered it worth sacking indicates at least a perceived importance. No Genoese records survive from before the attack. In the late thirteenth century the historian Jacopo da Varagine provides an implausible account of the sack, but otherwise little information about Genoa is available prior to the First Crusade.[7] Although the sack was a disaster for the city—in all probability it was completely abandoned for a few years—it marks a clear shift in its history. In a paradoxical way, the events of 934–35 brought Genoa into the broader Mediterranean world.

Little in the tenth century would have suggested what Genoa was to become within only a few generations. Because the city did recover, one could argue that the catastrophe was an important formative experience for the collectivity. According to Robert Lopez's thesis for the city's subsequent development, the Genoese sought to avenge the Muslim assault by preying on Muslim craft; thus through piracy and theft, they accumulated the capital necessary for arming fleets and entering Mediterranean trade in their own right. This explanation for

Genoa's rapid development over the next two centuries is still the most plausible.[8] It also helps to explain the militant nature of religious devotion in the medieval city and its openly hostile policy toward Muslim states (which did not, however, keep Genoese merchants from maintaining commercial relations with Muslim states from a very early date). Steven Epstein, in his *Genoa and the Genoese*, offers some convincing arguments that add much needed nuance to the Lopez thesis. Epstein notes that a monetarized economy never fully disappeared in Liguria and that the early merchant families nearly all had noble origins. Apparently some capital was being accumulated through agriculture and reinvested in commerce or piracy, or both—as Epstein points out, even piracy requires start-up capital.[9]

The maritime activities of the Genoese during the period between the sack of the city and the First Crusade are known to us only through sources produced elsewhere. We find that in the early eleventh century Muslim raiders were still making consistent attacks in the Tyrrhenian, attacking Pisa in 1004 and 1011 and sacking Luni in 1015. Also in 1015 Mujahid, the Muslim ruler of Denia in Spain, launched an attack from the Balearics aimed at the conquest of Sardinia. The following year we find the Genoese acting in conjunction with the Pisans to repulse Mujahid's effort to conquer the island. Pisa and Genoa came into conflict in the 1060s for unknown reasons, but the dispute probably related to control of Sardinia. Then in 1087 the two cities once again joined forces and, together with vessels from Amalfi, Salerno, and Gaeta, and with the blessing of Pope Victor III, attacked al-Mahdiyya (Mahdia), capital of a Muslim state on the eastern coast of modern day Tunisia. The celebratory tones of the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum* (Pisan Victory Song), the sole account of the attack, impede a factual reconstruction of the campaign but do permit some conclusions and conjectures. Apparently, by the eleventh century the Genoese in league with the Pisans were capable of launching expeditions, and by midcentury they were able to sustain a conflict with another Italian city-state, though their efforts were in vain.

It is also clear that by the late eleventh century the Genoese had already embarked on a path of expansion through aggression and violence, and that this aggression was directed primarily, but not exclusively, against Muslims. The conjectures that can be made about Genoese activities arise from claims in the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum* that Pisan and Genoese merchants were among those promoting the attack on al-Mahdiyya. There is evidence that Genoese ships had visited Alexandria in Egypt as early as the 1060s[10] and that by the early

twelfth century there was a significant Genoese presence even in Cairo. Given this precocious presence in eastern markets, it is possible that the Genoese merchants hoped to disrupt Muslim east-west shipping in order to enhance their own position. This could, of course, be attributing too much economic rationale to an act of religiously motivated violence, but it is surprising how often economic and religious motivations overlapped.

It was with the momentous series of events that go under the name of the First Crusade that Genoa underwent a qualitative shift. In the century and a half, roughly, since the terrible sack of 934–35 the city had made the leap, in Steven Epstein's words, from "practically nothing to something." Now the crusading movement was to be both catalyst and vehicle for transformation within the city and for spectacular expansion in the Mediterranean world. Genoa's internal structure was consolidated (though not stabilized) into a communal form of government, while its citizens forced their way into new markets and routes, eventually vying with the Venetians for hegemony in the Mediterranean. Between the First Crusade and the War of Chioggia against Venice (1378–81) the Genoese built a seaborne commercial empire stretching from the Levant through the Aegean to the farthest shores of the Black Sea in the East and to the coasts of Spain and the Atlantic in the West. At the same time they created a precocious territorial state in Liguria and took possession of the island of Corsica.

The history of Genoa truly begins with the First Crusade; the Genoese acquired their first overseas possessions as a direct result of their participation in the Crusading expeditions to the Levant. Genoese history also begins with the Crusades in a very literal sense; Caffaro, who compiled the first in a unique, continuous series of annals spanning centuries, chooses the third Genoese expedition to the Holy Land as the starting point for the city's history.[11] Two nearly simultaneous events are narrated: the creation of a "Compagna" for three years (composed of six consuls representing each of the areas of the city, the precursor of the *comune*), and the Genoese expedition against Caesarea in 1100. This was the third Genoese expedition of the Crusade, but the first officially recognized by the city's governing body. The previous two expeditions had gained the city its first colony, in Antioch (thirty houses, a church, a city square, and a *fondaco*),[12] and prestige through participation in the siege of Jerusalem. Within the first decade of the twelfth century colonies had been established in Antioch, Caesarea, Acre, and Tripoli, among other places.

The establishment of colonies in the Levant slightly antedates acquisition of territory in Liguria. During the early Middle Ages the city's legal status had con-

tributed to keeping it separate from the surrounding countryside. Genoa's medieval constitution, the Consuetudo, guaranteed certain privileges against interference from the rural viscounts. The Consuetudo probably stemmed from concessions made to the city during the period of Byzantine dominion and was confirmed by the king of Italy, Berengar II, in 958.[13] Members of the feudal aristocracy, then, had participated in the early expeditions against the Muslims and had subsequently taken up residence in the city. Thus, any political ties between the city and the surrounding countryside resided not in the political domination of the city over the rest of Liguria but in the feudal authority of a select group of citizens. Extension of the *comune*'s dominion was a separate phenomenon. Portovenere on the eastern *riviera* was taken in 1109, and Voltaggio, which controls the Apennine passes of the Via Postumia, was conquered in 1121. A castle was built at Portovenere in 1113 and another only a few years later at Lerici, again on the eastern *riviera*—not to aid in Genoese control of the territory but to provide an outpost against possible Pisan aggression by sea. During roughly the same years many of the communities of the western *riviera*, already allies of Genoa, were co-opted into what had quickly become a maritime state. Still divided into three distinct units, the *castrum*, *civitas*, and *burgus*, Genoa was united politically in 1130 when the institution of the Consoli del Comune became permanent and physically in 1156 with the construction of walls enclosing all three previous entities.[14]

The history of Genoa's tremendous expansion in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries is a compelling one, but it is also one better told by scholars of the medieval world.[15] Here let it suffice to say that by mid-twelfth century the principal elements of the Genoese colonial and commercial system were in place: merchant colonies with trading privileges in the East, a shipping network capable of reaching all parts of the Mediterranean, and the willingness to use violence to open markets and maintain routes and trading outposts. By the end of the thirteenth century colonies had been established around the Black Sea and Sea of Azov, in the Aegean, and on Cyprus; in addition merchant colonies were present on the Iberian Peninsula as well as in England and Flanders. While the bonds between the mother city and the colonies were often very tenuous, this was the medieval Genoese empire, stretched out along the coasts of the Mediterranean world. The merchants inhabiting the colonies maintained contacts with each colony's hinterland, but the unifying element of the whole system was to be found in maritime contact. This nearly complete separation from the surrounding inland regions is most striking in the area nearest the dominant

city. Even in Liguria there was no comprehensive set of roads linking the coastal towns under Genoese domination; all contacts were maintained by sea.

The exploitation of Corsica is the only exception to this general rule, and it is only a partial exception; the process of penetration into the interior lasted for centuries. Genoa had contended with Pisa for control of Corsica and Sardinia, not only to ensure access to the two islands' natural resources and the possibility of exploiting them, but also to protect shipping. At any rate, the construction of port facilities on the western coast of Corsica, the rockiest of the island's coasts and the least accessible from the interior, indicates that for more than a century the primary reason for Genoese interest in the island was the need for safe havens for shipping in the western Mediterranean.

European Expansion at Home: A New World in the Old One

If any sense is to be made of the actions and events, processes and trends that shaped the Republic of Genoa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period that interests us here, we must first examine the profound transformations taking place in the Mediterranean world during those centuries and the changing importance of the Mediterranean region in broader, global questions. If, however, we want the Republic of Genoa's diplomatic and commercial fortunes to tell us something about the political and economic structures in evolution in Europe, then we must first bear in mind the great movements and transformations set in motion on a worldwide level during the fifteenth century. Two fundamentally important movements, Ottoman expansion to the east of Genoa and Portuguese and Spanish overseas expansion to the west, both directly affected and involved a number of Genoese citizens. Although the former had the greatest *immediate* impact on the economic orientations of the Genoese and many other Mediterranean peoples, the latter movement set the stage for a great transformation in history whose repercussions were to be felt throughout the globe. Within a century of the voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama, Europe's commercial and financial equilibrium had been disrupted and then reorganized as a result of Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean and Spanish empire building in the New World.

These phenomena have been studied at length and are the subject of a great deal of ongoing research. Still, it is worthwhile to retrace some of the important steps leading up to European expansion into the rest of the world. First of all,

throughout the later Middle Ages, Mediterranean commerce and the distribution of Levantine and oriental products in the West were dominated by the republics of Venice and Genoa. Both cities had established trading colonies in the eastern Mediterranean, the most important colonies for Venice lying in and around the Aegean, those for Genoa around the Black Sea and the upper Aegean. Italian merchants exchanged European products (woolen goods and timber for the most part) for fine Levantine goods and spices, which were distributed throughout the Mediterranean, overland to southern Germany and much of France, and after 1277 to England and Flanders directly by sea. The northern and southern poles of the European economy had already been in contact through the Champagne fairs, but with the arrival of the Genoese in the North Sea in the late thirteenth century and the Venetians in 1307, the volume of exchange rose dramatically.[16] From this point forward the European economy must be seen as a single system; the regional subdivisions were still extremely strong, but the long-distance trades in spices, cloth, and raw materials for the textile industry had created a series of economic bonds uniting North and South, East and West. And one of the characteristics of the European economic system taken as a whole was its overall trade imbalance with the Levant, causing a constant drain of precious metals to the East.

With the collapse of the Mongol Empire around 1360, conflict between the Turks and the Mongols and subsequent Ottoman expansion blocked the caravan routes from Persia to Trebizond on the southeastern coast of the Black Sea as well as the routes from China and India to Tana on the Sea of Azov. As a result, the Genoese were forced to abandon the lucrative silk trade, while the spice trade was left to the Venetians, who were still able to obtain spices through Mamluk Egypt. Genoese trade in the Black Sea did not cease, but its composition changed. The principal items of trade were now slaves, timber, furs, and grain, together with alum from Phocaea, exported through the Genoese colony on Chios. Further Ottoman expansion in the fifteenth century and the arrival in force of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean during the first years of the sixteenth century again severely damaged the organization of the Italian republics' trading networks. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 and of Phocaea in 1458 cut off Genoese access to the Black Sea colonies and to the alum mines of Anatolia. As for the Venetians, although the Portuguese were unable in the long run to cut off the flow of spices through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, supply for the Italians was no longer as regular as it had been in the past and, more important, the Venetian monopoly had been broken.

The arrival of the Portuguese in Calicut in 1498 was not, of course, a random

event, nor can the decades of Portuguese exploration and expansion leading up to it be seen outside the same broader European economic context, which also included Venice and Genoa. The same can be said of Christopher Columbus's voyages and the arrival of the Spanish in the New World. Fifteenth-century Spain and Portugal were very much a part of the same extended economic unit as the Italian cities. In spite of Portugal's geographic position facing the Atlantic, the fact that Lisbon (but also Cádiz and Seville) had long been frequented by Venetian and Genoese vessels on their voyages to Flanders and was the site of considerable colonies of Italian merchants ensured strong bonds and a contiguity of interests with the Mediterranean world.[17]

Perhaps perceived at first as a continuation of the Reconquista, the Portuguese advance along the Atlantic coast of Africa during the fifteenth century was driven by the same motives that had taken the Genoese as far as Ceuta in the twelfth century: the search for gold and slaves. As the possibility of rounding the Cape of Good Hope came to appear more and more feasible, the advance along the coast continued, motivated by the hope of reaching the source of the spice trade and carving out a share of that lucrative activity which had long been a sustaining pillar of the Mediterranean economy. With the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India and the shipment of spices from the Indian Ocean to Portugal and then to Antwerp for distribution across northern Europe, the economic predominance of the Mediterranean suffered a blow; one of its vital trades could now be carried on without passing through the hands of Italian merchants. Maritime exchange between North and South was no longer dominated by the Italians either.

We find a similar set of driving ideas behind Spanish expansion; the initial motivation behind Columbus's first voyages was that of finding a new route to India and a way for the Spanish to enter the spice trade. In other words, the initiative was governed by the logic of the existing economic system. The effects of Spanish overseas expansion, however, were quite different. The discovery of the Americas and the establishment of Spanish colonies there did not undermine any existing commercial activity or trade network. Nevertheless, after rather slow beginnings, the Spanish colonies came to represent not only potential markets for export items but also the source of goods for importation into Europe. Of far greater importance, though, the Spanish New World colonies were the source of an enormous flow of precious metals (gold from the Antilles and Mexico and silver from Mexico and Peru), which were to fuel a far-reaching transformation in European history. The wealth pouring into Spain from the Americas and, perhaps even more so, the credit now available based on that

wealth allowed the Habsburg monarchs from Charles V to Philip IV to pursue an imperialistic policy that polarized conflict and allegiances in Europe. The size and power of the possessions inherited by Charles V coupled with his aggressive foreign policy in Europe caused the formation of pro- and anti-Habsburg agglomerations within Christendom, essentially a conflict between France and the Habsburg lands of the Holy Roman Empire and Spain. In like manner a Habsburg-Ottoman polarization, not entirely extraneous from the Habsburg-Valois one, was formed in the Mediterranean. At the same time the precious metals passing through Spain redressed a chronic European shortage of currency, thus satisfying at least one of the prerequisites for the rapid growth of the European economy in general.

A final characteristic of Iberian expansion worth discussing here is that in the cases of both Spain and Portugal all aspects of overseas expansion were crown monopolies: the colonization of the New World, the establishment of trading outposts in the Indian Ocean, and even communication between the colonies and the Old World. The voyages of discovery, if not always monarchical enterprises, were always carried out under the sovereignty of the monarch.[18] The organization of colonization and commerce with the colonies was a crown affair closed to unauthorized foreign interlopers.[19] The significance of this fact for the powers of the preexisting economic order was great. The Genoese, the Venetians, and the Florentines could not establish their own *fondaci* in the Portuguese and Spanish empires and were therefore forced to work within the trading patterns and routes established by the Iberians, who in turn privileged the Atlantic routes and Antwerp in the case of the Portuguese, Cádiz and Seville in the case of the Spanish. Given the combination of Italian financial power and a chronic lack of capital in the Iberian countries, many Genoese and Florentine merchants were able to penetrate the colonial trades,[20] but always under the aegis of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns and within the framework established by them. Eventually the impetus that the Portuguese spice trade gave to Antwerp as a redistributive center and the flow of precious metals from the Americas through Spain were to overturn the existing economic order of Europe and lead to a deep transformation of the Mediterranean world.

The Place of the Genoese in Early Sixteenth-Century Europe

Genoa's economy underwent a transformation during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, adapting to the new economic and political circum-

stances of the Mediterranean world. Although being reorganized, the trading networks of the Genoese merchants were centered now on the western end of the Mediterranean. Even so, the "shift to the west" of the republic's interests was far from complete,[21] and it was not concentrated exclusively on the lands of the Spanish crown at this point (or, better, the Spanish crowns of Aragon and Castile) or on relations with the Spanish kingdoms. This may seem obvious given the republic's alliance with France during the Italian wars of Charles VIII and Louis XII and the subsequent French occupation of the city during the initial phases of the Habsburg-Valois wars, but the weight of later Genoese involvement with the Habsburgs tends to distort the historian's view of the political and economic alignment of the republic during the early years of the sixteenth century.

A shift in emphasis was clear though: the East offered only the possibility of tenaciously continuing to exploit what remained of the republic's medieval trading empire, whereas the West represented a growing field of opportunity. Robert Lopez provides a clear explanation of the difference between the possibilities offered by the Iberian Peninsula compared with those of the East: "There were no superior crafts [in Iberia] defended by inferior armies, as formerly in the Levant, but great natural resources which the native population did not fully exploit."[22] Furthermore, in the wake of Turkish expansion the superior crafts of the Levant were no longer defended by inferior armies. The alum previously acquired at Phocaea was replaced by alum from Tolfa; Chinese silk arriving in Tana or Trebizond was replaced by Sicilian, Calabrian, and Granada silks; the sugar bought in the past in Syria and Cyprus was now produced in the Algarve, on the Canaries, and on Madeira (where its production was introduced by the Genoese).[23] Another important difference between the former colonial system in the East and the increasing "colonization" of the West was the different level of political coverage involved. In the Catholic countries of the West it was not necessary to create closed communities, separate and autonomous from their surroundings, as was typical of the merchant colonies established both in Muslim countries and in the Byzantine Empire.[24] The eastern colonies were often governed by associations of merchants and investors (*maone)*, sometimes administered by the Casa di San Giorgio (the Bank of Saint George) or by a consul nominated by the republic itself; at times they even gave in to the temptation of following policies divergent from those of the mother city. In spite of this, the eastern colonies were always in one way or another identified with Genoa. The fifteenth-century penetration of the West, on the other hand, rarely required the open support of the republic's government. Activity in the western Mediter-

ranean was the work of individual merchants or, at most, the associations of families, the *alberghi;* it did not revolve around a series of settlements under Genoese rule.

Of course, not all of the commerce developed in the West was in substitution of lost eastern trades. The Genoese were able to penetrate nearly all profitable trades in the West, but perhaps more important, at least in hindsight, was their growing involvement in one of the by-products of international commerce: finance. The principal axis of their nascent financial network linked the fairs of Lyon, where they were constantly present during the first quarter of the sixteenth century,[25] and Seville, where a number of Genoese banks had grown up in conjunction with the growing American trade. Even before the end of the fifteenth century Genoese financiers had become involved in the royal finances of both France and Spain, making loans to both the Most Christian and the Catholic monarchs, in 1494 and 1497, respectively.[26]

In spite of their participation in both the Lyon and Seville money markets and the financial relationships established with both the French and Spanish crowns, Genoese involvement with western Europe's two most powerful monarchies was not symmetrical. Economic relations with Spain (Castile) outweighed political ties, whereas the opposite was true of the republic's position with regard to France. That being said, it would be simplistic to explain the republic's shift to the imperial and Spanish camp in 1528, fruit of Andrea Doria's successful coup d'état, as a mere political realignment serving economic interests. The extent of Genoese economic interests in the Iberian Peninsula cannot alone explain Doria's decision to abandon Francis I in favor of Charles V and to enforce the broad constitutional reforms so often associated with his name. Genoese interests in Spain had in fact grown during the period of French domination and, in spite of French occupation of the city, Genoese financiers had even made substantial loans to Charles V on the occasion of the 1519 imperial elections, to the detriment of Francis I.[27] As pointed out by Arturo Pacini, in order to appreciate fully the changes brought about in 1528, we must also consider strictly political conditions and interests.[28]

Before examining the events of 1528, we should evaluate the political preconditions of the reforms. In other words, just what was Genoa's place in the convulsive arena of late Renaissance northern Italy and the early sixteenth-century Mediterranean world? During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Genoa had fallen under at least partial foreign control a number of times. It first

came under foreign domination in 1396 when Doge Antoniotto Adorno handed the government of the city over to Charles VI of France, who was declared *difensore del comune*. This move was motivated by a desire to guarantee the republic's territorial integrity against the combined threats of perennial internal conflicts and the schemes of the Duke of Orléans and Gian Galeazzo Visconti. This first period of submission to France lasted until 1409 when the Marquis of Monferrat briefly gained control of the city (1409–13). In 1421, isolated and under siege, the republic was forced to accept a Milanese governor and domination by Filippo Maria Visconti, a situation that was to last until 1435. Taking advantage of internal chaos and French attempts to take over the *riviere*, Genoa declared Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, lord of the city in 1463 and, except for a ten-year interval between 1478 and 1488, it remained under Sforza domination until the end of the century.

When Louis XII of France advanced his claims to the Duchy of Milan in 1499 and drove Ludovico (il Moro) Sforza from the city, Genoa promptly offered itself to the French king. It briefly threw off French domination during a popular rebellion in 1506–7 and allegiance to France vacillated in 1512 when the League of Cambrai collapsed leaving the French without allies. The city freed itself again a year later in the wake of the French defeat at Novara. After the battle of Marignano in 1515 when Francis I, in yet another French invasion of Italy, reconquered the Duchy of Milan, Doge Ottaviano Fregoso again offered allegiance to the French crown. French domination this time lasted until 1522 when, after having driven the French from Milan, the combined imperial and papal forces stormed and sacked Genoa. The city was now governed more by the Spanish ambassador Lope de Soria than by Doge Antoniotto Adorno; however, this first phase of Hispano-imperial domination ended in 1527 when a French army and a squadron of galleys under Andrea Doria besieged the city. The final period of French sovereignty was short-lived, lasting until the end of the summer of 1528.

The nature of French, Milanese, and finally imperial domination changed greatly between 1396 and 1527. The city was offered to Charles VI under the terms of a bilateral agreement limiting the king's sovereignty and guaranteeing specific liberties to be maintained by Genoa. The agreement also saved the republic from dismemberment at the hands of the dukes of Orléans and Milan, who had been acting together with a number of disgruntled Genoese citizens. Filippo Maria Visconti, on the other hand, having taken the city through force

of arms, did not respect the limits on his power agreed to in 1421, nor did he respect the established internal order of the republic, favoring the port of Savona at Genoa's expense. What is more important, though, for understanding the political climate on the eve of the 1528 reforms is the changing nature of French domination during the early years of the sixteenth century. Louis XII was offered limited sovereignty over the city in 1499 under the terms of a bilateral agreement between two states, but following the revolt of 1506–7 Louis had to resort to force of arms in order to regain control. Upon entering the city gates, Louis theatrically shredded the agreement of submission.[29] Immediately thereafter he reestablished similar conditions, but as privileges conceded to a subject city that had lost its juridical basis for sovereignty. This change in status affected subsequent treatment of the city by the French. The first period of Habsburg domination, from 1522 to 1527 (again the fruit of a military victory) did not differ substantially.

The dizzying succession of foreign dominators and the instability of Genoa's position on the checkerboard of international power politics also relate to the city's internal situation. Instability in international politics was deeply intertwined with the city's problematical internal instability and the endless rivalry between the houses and numerous supporters of the Adorno and the Fregoso families. Since the advent of Simon Boccanegra to power in 1339 the "nobles" had been excluded from the position of doge.[30] That office had been monopolized at first by a handful of families and then, by the sixteenth century, by only two families: the Adorno and the Fregoso. Each of these families drew support from both inside and outside the city and from both the noble and the nonnoble elements of society. In much the same way that the Italian states tried to exploit the presence of foreign armies in Italy in order to further their own ends, and were in turn exploited, the Adorno and Fregoso, through their struggle for the Genoese *dogato*, became pawns in the greater conflict for dominion of the entire peninsula. Thus, with the arrival of Louis XII in 1499 the Fregoso replaced the Adorno, protégés of Ludovico il Moro; Ottaviano Fregoso exploited papal support to become doge in 1513 and then submitted to Francis I as the Adorno sought the aid of Massimiliano Sforza. An imperial army elevated Antoniotto Adorno (II) to the office of doge in 1522 and Cesare Fregoso was among the ranks of the French army that deposed Antoniotto in 1527. In the tormented struggles for supremacy in Italy during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries anyone wishing to gain sway over Genoa could make an al-

liance with either the Fregoso or the Adorno, whichever was out of power, and then count on the support of that family's following in the city. A painful awareness of this fact and the frequency of violent upheavals in Genoese politics led a growing number of citizens to seek a way to overcome the city's internal divisions.

The final two changes of regime in 1527 and 1528 largely resolved these divisions. When the French took Genoa in 1527, they did not appoint as doge Cesare Fregoso, who had accompanied the French army in the hopes of ruling the city, but the Milanese noble Teodoro Trivulzio, probably at the insistence of Andrea Doria who was then commander of the French naval forces.[31] French domination proved to be very unpopular, however. Francis I refused to reintegrate Savona into the Genoese state[32] or to accept the projects formulated in Genoa for overcoming the disputes between the Adorno and Fregoso and the divisions between *nobili* and *popolari* factions. With the expiration (July 1528) of Andrea Doria's contract binding him to the service of Francis I, the admiral passed into the service of Charles V, and in September 1528 Doria entered Genoa. Nearly deserted due to an epidemic of the plague, the city posed almost no opposition and once again entered the imperial camp. Doria at once became the guarantor both of the reforms aimed at resolving the city's internal divisions and of the republic's loyalty to Charles V.

Genoa's position in the Habsburg world had changed considerably since the period of Antoniotto Adorno's rule (1522–27). Previously, control over the city had been gained militarily through the siege and sack of the city by an imperial army and maintained through the exploitation of the city's traditional internal divisions. Adorno had little autonomy, and Genoa was a subject state. Like Francis I before him, during the period 1522–27 Charles V did not favor internal reforms, realizing that any attempt to overcome internal divisions was in the end aimed at eliminating foreign domination; it was clear to all that foreign involvement and eventual foreign domination depended on the city's inability to create a stable government capable of guaranteeing internal cohesion. Doria's 1528 coup d'état, however, completely transformed the terms of Genoa's affiliation to the Habsburgs. By enforcing the new institutional order, Doria strengthened the republic against foreign interference, ensured nearly unanimous support for himself, and at the same time, through his contractual relationship with Charles V, guaranteed the city's adherence to the imperial cause. Being at the same time *condottiero* in the emperor's service and guarantor of the stability of Genoa, An-

drea Doria himself became the physical link between Charles V's empire and the Republic of Genoa, and thus became indispensable to both in maintaining the new status quo.

Andrea Doria, Pater Patriae

Much can be said, and in fact much has been said, regarding the political and economic preconditions of the changes of 1528, the political and economic consequences of the republic's reforms, and its new affiliation in the interminable conflicts between France and the Habsburgs.[33] Andrea Doria's role and motivations in the 1528 reforms were significant. Hailed as *pater patriae*, the father of the republic, he most certainly did have the republic's safety and territorial sovereignty at heart. His presumed role in preventing the French from naming Cesare Fregoso governor of the city in 1527 and his continued insistence that Francis I restore Savona to the republic illustrate his position well. He hoped that the republic could overcome the Adorno-Fregoso dichotomy and that its geographical extension would remain intact. The terms posed to Charles V by Doria when he was approached even years before actually going over to his service show that this position was not merely a passing stance; as early as 1525, as a precondition for serving the emperor he had demanded that neither the Adorno nor the Fregoso be left in control of Genoa.[34] Then, after having taken effective control of the city, he enforced the reforms that eliminated the Adorno and Fregoso from power and that were aimed at uniting the *nobili* and *popolari* in a single ruling class.

At the same time Doria reserved for himself the crucial yet seemingly secondary institutional position, a permanent seat as one of the *supremi sindicatori.* Because this body reviewed the government's actions and decided whether past senators were to become *procuratori* and past doges *procuratori perpetui* (and therefore permanent members of the Colleges, the city's ruling councils), Doria's position in this magistracy allowed him considerable sway over the doge and some control over the long-term composition of the Colleges. Furthermore, beyond his constitutional role, Doria's position as de facto ruler or at least arbiter of the city was further reinforced by the clauses in his contract as *asentista de galeras* (galley contractor or *condottiero*)[35] providing for the possibility of exporting Sicilian grain and by the agreement giving Doria discretionary power over which Genoese financiers were to be allowed to operate at the Spanish court.[36] Andrea Doria had not only brought Genoa into the Habsburg world, giving the city formal independence and neutrality and therefore the right to

carry on business nearly anywhere—something that foreign domination had often interfered with—but he also held the keys to the lucrative financial opportunities offered at court.

His activities outside the republic were equally decisive. In addition to bringing Genoa into the imperial orbit, Doria's change of sides and his consequent failure to relieve the siege of Naples sealed the fate of French claims on the Neapolitan throne. Doria's galleys and those of his fellow Genoese *asentistas* constituted the core of the Spanish naval presence in the Mediterranean and, from a military standpoint, guaranteed control of Genoa,[37] which in turn was essential for maintaining communications between the Iberian Peninsula to the west and the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples to the east.

Andrea Doria did not create the reforms in Genoa, nor did he alone apply them. The gestation period had been underway since the revolt of 1506–7: periodic discussions gave way to constant work in 1525, and an initial text of the reforms was even approved by the Council of Elders while the city was still under French domination. Doria did, however, create the necessary condition for the maturation and enforcement of the reforms—the absence of a direct foreign sovereign. The military strength of his squadron of galleys and his relationship with the emperor could in turn guarantee the republic's defense. The squadron of galleys, control over financial activities at court, and his position as admiral of the Mediterranean allowed for the creation of an enormous clientele system and considerable devotion to his person, which was only reinforced by the prestige of the princely title, Prince of Melfi, awarded him shortly thereafter. For Charles V, Doria's role in the city—to a very large degree the fruit of Doria's relationship with the emperor—was a guarantee of Genoese adherence to the Habsburg cause.

Bearing in mind the figure of Andrea Doria, his role in the sweeping changes of 1528, and his subsequent position in the city, we can approach anew the question of whether the Genoese alliance with Charles V was inevitable given the growing Genoese economic interests in Spain in general and Castile in particular. The actual choosing of sides was not always obvious to contemporaries, and economic interests in Castile were not the only factor at play. The internal order of the republic and the question of who, if anyone, would allow the enactment of broad reforms were also essential questions. The reforms were also linked to the issue of foreign domination —explicitly, to interference with commerce, as with the French desire to privilege the port of Savona rather than Genoa itself or Francis I's order not to honor bills of exchange in favor of imperial agents.[38] The desired reforms were aimed at creating an internal cohesion capable of lim-

iting a foreign power's ability to maneuver and the consequent violent alterations, or *mutamenti*, to which the city was prone during the first three decades of the sixteenth century. The ideal conditions for the pursuit of Genoese economic interests would have been independence and neutrality—a real separation from the great powers and therefore the freedom to act both in French and Habsburg lands.

Andrea Doria shared the concerns of the reformers but, more important, seized the occasion offered him to enforce the reforms, ensure his own personal power, and guarantee a certain degree of stability and protection for the republic. Although true neutrality and independence were not possible for a small state in a strategic position during the Italian wars, Doria was able to provide the republic with something very close. If there was anything inevitable about the whole transformation, it had more to do with the military strength of Charles V's empire and his ascendancy over the French rather than Genoese economic interests in Castile. The enormous profits made over the course of the following decades should not distort the picture; Genoese merchants bought grain in both Provence and Sicily, before and after Doria's coup (the French prohibition against trading with Genoa, imposed by Francis I in 1528, was lifted in 1541); France continued to represent an enormous market for Genoese manufactures;[39] and the two poles of Genoese financial activity, whether the city was under the control of the French or the empire, were Lyon and Seville right up to (and beyond) the expulsion of the Genoese from France in 1528.[40] Amid these opportune circumstances was the figure of Andrea Doria *avventuriero*. Doria had spent many years building up his position and accumulating the capital invested in his galleys and could certainly have continued to serve Francis I had he so desired. He chose instead to take advantage of the opportunities offered in 1528, carrying out and sanctioning the "inevitable" changes of that year. Next to Doria's audacity and political flair we must also place Charles V's astuteness and willingness to give Doria free rein in Genoa, trusting in the admiral's ability to create a more lasting devotion than any generated through military occupation.

A Map of the Republic's Divisions and Constitutional Structure

How volatile was the Genoese political situation prior to the 1528 reforms? The principal social and political divisions—that is, vertical divisions cutting

across all levels of society—were of course not only those between the supporters of the two *cappellazze*, the Adorno and Fregoso, but also those between the "Whites" and the "Blacks" (in other words, between Guelphs and Ghibellines, these latter two labels being completely devoid of any further-reaching political meaning in the sixteenth century). Another very important vertical division saw the *nobili* and the *popolari*, the nobles and the commoners. Belonging to one group or the other did not determine one's position. For example, *x* and *y* could be united in their common support of the Adorno, yet be opposed to one another in questions regarding "Blacks" and "Whites" or "nobles" and "commoners." In fact, after the exclusion of the Adorno and Fregoso from power, this last division became the principal obstacle to internal cohesion, and the city's constitutional reformers worked most frequently to overcome precisely this division.

The terminology used to distinguish the two groups is misleading; the division between *nobili* and *popolari* is not a simple horizontal division running across the social pyramid, dividing the feudal nobility from the urban patriciate, the *popolo grasso* of other Italian cities. Many of the *nobili* were in fact members of the feudal aristocracy, first among them the four principal houses of the Doria, the Spinola, the Fieschi, and the Grimaldi, but in medieval Genoa the distinctive title was also given to anyone who had served on the Council of Elders or who had occupied the office of consul. As early as the twelfth century, alongside the elements of the feudal nobility who had taken up residence in the city and were active in trade and the city-state's maritime expansion, a new and heterogeneous group of shipowners, navigators, and merchants was also acquiring the title of "noble."[41] Following the diarchate of Oberto Doria and Oberto Spinola (1270–85), the nobles, thus defined, were excluded from the office of captain of the people, and public offices were assigned half to the nobles and half to the nonnobles (a temporary measure first enacted in 1289).[42]

With the rise to power of Simon Boccanegra in 1339 the nobles were barred completely from holding office, though they were reintegrated in diplomatic and military roles shortly thereafter. Under attack both from the Visconti dukes of Milan and from the feudal nobility, Boccanegra briefly allotted one-half of the positions on the Council of Elders to nobles living in the city. Nobles were given access to other offices in 1363, and in 1394 Antoniotto Adorno reserved one-half of all official positions for the nobles.[43] Thus, the distinction between *nobili* and *popolari,* along with their competition for power, had already been strong enough in 1289 to call for the equal division of offices as a means of keep-

ing the peace. The appearance, though, of some families as "nobles" before 1289 and later as *popolari* leads us to believe (as suggested by the sixteenth-century historian and polemicist Uberto Foglietta) that there was some degree of fluidity between the groups and that with the exclusion of the nobles from power in 1339 at least some families abandoned their "nobility" in order to become *popolari.* In the meantime, over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a number of *popolari* had acquired landed estates and imperial fiefs in Liguria, thus joining the ranks of the feudal aristocracy, which was no longer of exclusively "noble" origin.

Within the two groups of *nobili* and *popolari* there were further divisions, which present themselves largely as class, or horizontal, distinctions. The *nobili* were divided between the *quattro casate*, the four principal houses mentioned earlier, and the so-called *Tetti appesi*, the nonfeudal, urban "nobility" who had accepted exclusion from power in order to associate themselves with the cause of the four principal houses in 1340. Distinctions for the *popolari* included the *mercanti* and the *artesi* (or *serrabotteghe*)—in other words, the merchants and the artisans. Among the *popolari* the greatest prestige went to the families "of the first government," those who were said to have abandoned their noble status sometime between 1289 and 1394: the Giustiniani, Sauli, Franchi (or De Franchi), Fornari, and Promontorio (all of whom were "merchants").[44] By the end of the fourteenth century offices were divided equally not only between the *nobili* and *popolari*, but also between the Blacks and Whites and, within the ranks of the *popolari*, between merchants and artisans, this last distinction sanctioned by law in 1363.[45] The laws of 1528 officially abolished such distinctions and forbade even mention of the names of the factions and divisions, but the practice of dividing offices equally reemerged within less than twenty years of the reforms and remained an unwritten rule for two and a half centuries, until the end of the republic.

The goal of the 1528 reforms was that of resolving the differences between *nobili* and *popolari* by combining the two groups into a single ruling class organized around twenty-eight *alberghi* (see tables 1 and 2). Previously the *albergo* had been a strictly private institution, an association of mutual support (economic, political, or even military) based on a shared surname, common interests, or a compatibility of family goals or strategies. Prior to the reforms the members of each of the *alberghi* were of the same faction, *nobile* or *popolare*. Often, especially in the case of the nobles, the *albergo* grouped together the members of various branches of the same family, distant relatives or at least persons bearing the same

surname, with the intention of creating a regulated and compact extended family capable of acting as a single entity. In other cases the *albergo* was formed through the fusion of two or more families who bound their destinies together and took on a common surname. Perhaps the most striking example of this type of *albergo* is that of the Giustiniani, formed by the members of the *maona* of Chios, the shareholders of the company formed to colonize and exploit the Greek island in the late fourteenth century.[46] In any case, the *albergo* was not merely a family (it often even included freed slaves who assumed the *albergo*'s name and partisan affiliation), and much more than a simple alliance between families; it represented a fusion of the families composing it.

Table 1. The Twenty-eight Alberghi Created by the Reforms of 1528

Calvi	Di Negro	Grimaldi	Pinelli
Cattaneo	Doria	Imperiale	Promontorio[a]
Cehturione	Fieschi	Interiano	Salvago
Cibo	Fornari[a]	Lercaro	Sauli[a]
Cigala	Gentile	Lomellini	Spinola
De Franchi[a]	Giustiniani[a]	Negrone	Usodimare
De Marini	Grillo	Pallavicino	Vivaldi

[a] All-*popolare* grouping.

Table 2. Families Composing the "Old Nobility"

Bernissone	da Passano	Imperiale	Ponte
Biassa	De Gradi	Interiano	Raggio
Bracelli	Della Rovere	Lecavela	Ravaschiero
Calvi	De Mari	Lengueglia	Re
Camilla	De Marini	Lercaro	Ricci
Carmendino	Di Negro	Lomellini	Salvago
Cattaneo	Doria	Malocello	Serra
Cebà	Fieschi	Mottino	Spinola
Centurione	Galiani	Negrone	Squarciafico
Cibo	Gentile	Pallavicino	Usodimare
Cigala	Ghisolfi	Pansani	Vento
Clavesana	Grillo	Piccamiglio	Vivaldi
Connio	Grimaldi	Pichenotti	
Corso	Gualterio	Pinelli	

Source: Poggi, "Le guerre civili in Genova in relazione con un documento economico-finanziario dell'anno 1576," *ASLSP*, 54, 3 (1930); ASCG, Ms. 396, *Nobili vecchi e nuovi*, compiled in the 1590s by Giulio Pallavicino, quoted in Bitossi, *Il governo*, 80–81.

The 1528 laws raised the *albergo* from the level of private association to that of public institution. The citizens whose names were inscribed in the *Liber Nobilitatis*,[47] the document listing all citizens eligible to sit on the republic's ruling councils, were assigned to one of the twenty-eight *alberghi* chosen to be the organizing principle of the new unified ruling class, and from that point onward the *albergo*'s name was the only accepted family name. Of the twenty-eight *alberghi* thus formed, twenty-three comprised either noble families or previously all-noble *alberghi*. The remaining five comprised the two previously all-*popolare alberghi* of the Giustiniani and the Franchi and the *popolare* families of the Fornari, Promontorio, and Sauli. No nobles were assigned to the five *alberghi* of *popolare* origins. Curiously—and it can be no coincidence, given the unifying goal of the reforms—the five nonnoble *alberghi* bear the names of the *popolare* families referred to as the families "of the first government." These families had participated in the city's ruling council prior to the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century modifications in the medieval city-state's form of government and the subsequent crystallization of factions. Prior to the division of offices or the prejudicial measures taken against the *nobili* under Simon Boccanegra, these families had been considered "noble." The choice of these five *popolare alberghi* therefore represented a symbolic link to the supposedly egalitarian nature of the medieval commune's first regime, reinforcing the message that the newly formed "nobility" of the twenty-eight *alberghi* coincided with the ruling class, regardless of factional labels, in imitation of the earliest communal government.

The motive behind organizing the entire ruling class into *alberghi* was to mold the *nobili* and *popolari* into a single unit on an institutional level, just as the *albergo* had shown itself capable of fusing families on a private level. If the *alberghi* of the Doria or the Spinola could contain both the freed slave and the feudal lord, while providing common strategies, common goals, and a common name for both, then *nobili* and *popolari* could find the same common direction. Likewise, if prominent families had been able to forgo their own name for that of the *albergo*, the same could be done in the name of uniting the entire ruling class.

Beyond its desired function as a unifying element in society, though, the *albergo* was also the organizational unit for the republic's post-1528 political structure.[48] Whereas the two largest councils, the Maggior Consiglio and the Minor Consiglio of 400 and 100 members respectively, were formed by a random drawing from a bag containing the names of every individual inscribed in the

Liber Nobilitatis, the Senate, the body with the most powers and initiative as well as the seat of sovereignty (the "prince" in sixteenth-century juridical language), was based on a complex division into *alberghi*. Every six months a group of twenty-eight electors (one for each *albergo*) was chosen by the doge and senators. These electors together with the doge and senators elected another twenty-eight electors (again one for each *albergo*). The names of the fifty-six electors thus chosen were placed in a bag and a random drawing was made, bringing the number back down to twenty-eight. Each of these twenty-eight was to compile a list of candidates, one for each *albergo*, to be voted on by the Maggior Consiglio. From this list the two candidates obtaining the highest number of votes became senators for a term of office of two years. No member of the same *albergo* as a senator leaving office could be elected senator within a period of three years. The doge (actually *duce* was the official title, though commonly referred to as *doge*) was elected through the same process, with the difference that the final group of twenty-eight electors presented a list of only four candidates to be voted on by the Maggior Consiglio. His term in office was to be two years. At least five years had to pass between doges from the same *albergo*. After leaving office, if approved by the review organ of the *supremi sindicatori*, senators became procurators for a term of two years while former doges became procurators for life, *procuratori perpetui*. Charged with managing the republic's finances, the procurators, referred to as the Camera when sitting together, provided a check on the Senate. The Senate and Camera when meeting in plenary session were referred to as the Colleges.

The institutional organization of the republic was to remain substantially intact for nearly half a century. With the significant exception of modifications made in the mechanisms for the election of the highest state positions in 1547, no consistent changes were made before the outbreak of civil war in 1575. Although forty-nine years of stability was without doubt a remarkable achievement when compared with the turbulence of the preceding centuries, the reformers failed to overcome the city's internal divisions. The cancellation of the former family names and the prohibition of mentioning the factions were not sufficient to keep the old divisions from re-presenting themselves within the new *unicus ordo* of the Genoese nobility as *nobili vecchi* and *nobili nuovi*, old nobles and new nobles, in the place of the former *nobili* and *popolari*. The *albergo* as a private association had been able to function because the unity it imposed was total; the entire patrimony of the member families became the patrimony of the *albergo*, which assumed the functions of a consanguine family in matters of in-

heritance and the payment of dowries. As a public institution formed through the arbitrary assignment of members to one *albergo* or another, such impositions could not be made.[49] Thus, from the very beginning the artificial *alberghi* created in 1528 lacked one of their inspiring model's strongest unifying elements. In the end the ties to the old groupings of *nobili* and *popolari* were to prove stronger than the corporate identity arrived at through the unification of a newly defined ruling class and its organization in *alberghi*. Over the course of the fifty years following 1528 the economic interests of the two former factions began to diverge, as did opinions concerning the ultimate ends of the state and the relationship between public and private affairs. The reforms had succeeded in eliminating the rivalry between the Adorno and the Fregoso and contributed to the relative internal stability that allowed Genoa to avoid direct foreign domination, but the division between *nobili vecchi* and *nobili nuovi* was to prove deeply rooted and a continual source of internal tension.

CHAPTER TWO

The Genoese and the Republic of Genoa

El siglo de los genoveses

The "century of the Genoese," long neglected by historians, still lacks a specific time frame; disagreement persists as to just when that "century" began and when it ended.[1] The 1550s have been suggested as the starting point for Genoese supremacy in European finance and for Genoese influence in European affairs in general. Indeed, during that decade the quantity of loans made to Charles V by Genoese financiers surpassed those of the German bankers, the Welser and the Fugger. During the years 1552–56 the 132 *asientos* stipulated with Genoese financiers represented 50.82 percent of all loans made to the emperor.[2] Filipe Ruiz Martin has also suggested the year 1528 as a starting point for the "Genoese century," not only for its value as a symbolic date in the history of Genoa but also as a turning point in the quality of the relationship between the Habsburg monarch and the Genoese. The year of the reforms was also the first year that a *licencia de saca* (permission to export bullion) was granted to a Genoese, Cosimo De Marini.[3] Similarly, the time when the Genoese century came to a close has been linked with the Spanish suspension of payments of

1627, but also placed as late as the 1640s and as early as 1607. There are, on the other hand, many certainties. Whether we place the beginning of the period in 1528 or a couple of decades later, the fact remains that for the second half of the century the Genoese overwhelmingly dominated the Spanish crown's finances.

The role of the Genoese is in itself fairly easy to explain.[4] In order to govern his vast empire and, more important, to finance military operations in various theaters often quite distant one from another, Charles V needed a constant and reliable cash flow. The crown's income, on the other hand, did not arrive at regular intervals, nor did the state possess the bureaucratic and administrative apparatus necessary to rationalize the fiscal machinery. Even if it had possessed a highly developed and efficient bureaucracy, the problem of moving large sums of money safely over long distances remained. Private merchant bankers were able to resolve these problems by providing the money necessary for running the empire and maintaining the emperor's armies through a line of credit, with the loans then repaid from the crown's income. Such loans were guaranteed by concessions of the right to collect certain taxes; the granting of particular trading privileges; or, later, through the issuing of *juros*, annuities on various entries of the royal income. The ascendancy of the Genoese in this particular field over the more established German banking families can be attributed to the supremacy of Italian banking techniques. The Genoese exploited the exchange fairs to facilitate the concentration of capital and made extensive use of letters of exchange in order to transfer large sums of money across Europe. Their German counterparts, on the other hand, conducted their operations with coin.

Although the reforms of 1528 may not have been an absolute political "premise" for the period of Genoese domination of the financial markets, as suggested by the title of Arturo Pacini's book on those reforms,[5] Andrea Doria's change of sides in that year certainly did favor the consolidation of financial relations between the Habsburg court and the Genoese. Doria's position as admiral of the Mediterranean provided a guarantee both to Charles V, anxious about control of the Ligurian city, and to the financiers who found reassurance in Doria's prestige and political clout. In turn, the fact that Doria was given discretionary power over which Genoese bankers were to be allowed access to the court increased his influence and provided yet another lever to be used on the Republic of Genoa's internal equilibrium. The dramatic increase in Genoese involvement in Spanish finances and the enormous profits reaped by the financiers active at court has been reconstructed by Giorgio Doria based on information given by Ramón Carande (see table 3).[6]

Table 3. Genoese Involvement in Loans to the Spanish Crown, 1520–1556

Years	Loans by Genoese		Profits in Ducats	Average Profit as Percentage	Equivalent in Quintals of Gold
	In Ducats	As Percentage of All Loans			
1520–32	1,826,673	34.0	273,270	14.96	12.16
1533–42	2,167,440	39.9	503,496	23.23	22.41
1543–51	2,440,971	29.1	923,511	37.07	41.10
1552–56	4,901,214	50.8	3,303,697	67.41	147.03

The reign of Philip II witnessed a further increase in both the overall quantity of money lent to the crown and the proportion of that money lent by Genoese *asentistas*. Between 1558 and 1574 *asientos* for 14 million ducats were stipulated directly with Genoese financiers, and in 1575 63.2 percent of the king's outstanding loans had been made by Genoese. After the English captured four Spanish vessels carrying silver to the Low Countries for the payment of the Spanish troops there in 1568, the Atlantic route came to be seen as too dangerous for the transport of precious metals. As the Genoese perfected the mechanisms of transferring money by way of the exchange fairs, their dominance over Spanish finances grew steadily.

Nevertheless, the number of *asentistas* active at court was extremely limited, and those individuals needed to sustain operations in the far-flung credit network represented only a small portion of Genoese society. In addition, all the *asentistas* active at court belonged to the same faction, ex-*nobili*, now known as *nobili vecchi*. In spite of the 1528 prohibition of even mentioning the names of the factions, in practice the division was as alive as ever. Andrea Doria, the de facto head of the old nobility, used his influence to allow only old nobles access to the Habsburg court (prior to 1528 the Fornari, new nobles, had also stipulated *asientos* with Charles V).[7] Whether the contrivance of organizing the entire ruling class in the twenty-eight *alberghi* could have worked as a means of uniting old and new nobles, Doria's tacit recognition of that distinction while tying the most delicate bonds between the republic's citizens and the Spanish monarchy contributed greatly to the persistence of division along factional lines. Such discrimination—combined with the fact that the new "institutional" *alberghi*, unlike the previous private associations, had been created exclusively as organizational units—led to the ultimate failure of the *albergo*-based order as a means of overcoming internal division. In the private *albergo* the member

families ceased to exist as separate entities even with regard to questions of inheritance and patrimony. The lack of such a fusion in the "political" *alberghi* accentuated the inequality of riches among the member families, especially as the growing profits from Spanish finances bloated the resources of only the old noble members of the *alberghi*. The growing disparity led the old nobles to keep track of their own family trees scrupulously in order to avoid confusion in questions of inheritance, which could arise given the common family names imposed by the reforms of 1528. This practice clearly kept the divisions alive even within each individual *albergo*.

The Genoese Presence at Sea in the Sixteenth Century

At the moment of its greatest extension, the mainland territory of the Republic of Genoa consisted of a narrow strip of land following the coast between Monte Carlo to the west and the Gulf of La Spezia to the east, extending for the most part only a few miles inland, with the exception of the hinterland immediately behind the city of Genoa, which extended beyond the first ring of mountains and into the modern-day region of Piemonte. Apart from a small plain just inland from La Spezia, the entire territory is mountainous with little fertile soil. The mountains, separated by deep valleys, push right up to the sea. Corsica, across the Ligurian Sea immediately to the south of the dominant city, is surrounded on three sides by irregular and rocky coasts, the eastern coast being the only one where a fertile plain reaches the sea. The internal regions are for the most part mountainous but not without cultivable plateaus.

Genoa was primarily a maritime republic whose wealth had been accumulated through maritime commerce and whose survival depended on foodstuffs imported by sea. The port of Genoa lay at the heart of the city both geographically and economically. Even at the height of Genoese involvement in Spanish royal finances, the port was of vital importance to the city's economy; customs and port duties were essential for public finances, and local industry was dependent on imported raw materials. Of no less importance, a considerable portion of the city's labor pool was employed in port-related activities. In addition to sailors and carpenters involved in shipping and shipbuilding, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries some 10 to 15 percent of able-bodied men found work loading and unloading ships and stocking warehouses in the port area.[8] Furthermore, at the turn of the seventeenth century, well past the

golden age of Genoese sea power, customs records indicate that nearly two-thirds (by value) of goods reaching Genoa arrived by sea.[9]

Two principal quantitative indicators for examining the city's relationship with the sea, the size of the fleet and the volume of traffic in the port, suggest the overwhelming importance of the sea to Genoa. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to estimates regarding total shipping capacity in the years 1498 and 1509, the size of the Genoese fleet varied between 12,000 and 15,000 tons respectively.[10] By midcentury the fleet had grown: 17,000 tons in the late 1530s and 29,000 in the years 1556–58.[11] These years mark the high point for Mediterranean shipping in general.[12] By the close of the century the fleet was again at the 10,000- to 12,000-ton level.[13] Levels of port traffic follow a similar pattern up to and beyond midcentury, reaching a peak during the 1550s. The two curves begin to diverge during the 1580s and separate dramatically in the 1590s with the arrival of large numbers of northern ships, mostly Dutch and Hanseatic, in the Mediterranean.[14]

The picture is of course much more complex than can be illustrated with

Dionisio di Martino, *Excavation of the Sea Bed between the Spinola and Calvi Piers in 1597*. Museo Navale di Genova. (Photo courtesy of Musei Civici, Genova; Archivio Fotografico del Comune di Genova.)

these simple trends. During the first decades of the 1500s the composition of the fleet changed from one based on very large ships to one based on more modestly sized craft. The fleet in 1509 can be broken down as follows: sixteen ships of more than 8,000 cantari burden (roughly 400 tons) representing approximately 11,250 tons of shipping capacity; ten ships ranging in size from 150 to 400 tons representing 2,450 tons; and twenty-five smaller vessels (between 71 and 150 tons) representing another 2,350 tons of capacity.[15] Roughly thirty years later (1537, 1539) the proportions had been reversed: eleven of the largest ships (more than 400 tons), fifty-four ships of between 150 and 400 tons, and twenty-one smaller vessels, representing 5,300 tons, 14,000 tons, and 2,000 tons respectively.[16] The majority of the republic's shipping capacity comprised moderately large vessels rather than the very big vessels typical of the first part of the century. This tendency was inverted again by midcentury; with the rise in traffic and a general boom in Mediterranean shipping, the largest ships had once again come to prevail. In the years 1556–58 the composition of the fleet presents itself as follows: thirty ships of more than 400 tons each accounting for roughly 16,000-tons capacity; forty-eight ships of 150 to 400 tons representing approximately 12,000 tons; and thirteen ships between 71 and 150 tons comprising another 1,450 tons shipping capacity.[17] The varying proportions of large and small vessels composing the fleet were not, however, the only variables. By the 1550s the biggest Genoese ships were being built in the various centers along the Ligurian *riviera* mostly for provincial owners rather than in Genoa for Genoese owners.[18] Furthermore, in the latter part of the sixteenth century we find a number of foreign-built ships under partial Genoese ownership.[19] Fewer and fewer big Genoese vessels were active in the first decades of the seventeenth century, although many smaller ships from the *riviera* continued to engage in the cabotage trade.

As the number of ships arriving annually in the port of Genoa increased, the proportion of foreign ships frequenting the port rose as well. During the first half of the sixteenth century foreign vessels accounted for 25 to 48 percent of port traffic, rising to more than 50 percent in the years 1564, 1568, 1576, 1580, and 1582. Beginning in 1586 non-Genoese vessels (that is, ships from outside the Republic of Genoa) made up more than 70 percent of port traffic.[20] The change was clear and permanent; foreign vessels at the end of the century could no longer be seen as an "auxiliary fleet."[21]

A closer examination of this foreign traffic sheds some light on the degree of change taking place in Genoese maritime commerce and shipping activity over

the course of the century. In the first decades of the sixteenth century the ships of non-Genoese origin frequenting the port were for the most part small Biscayan and Provençal vessels plying cabotage routes. Big Ragusan vessels began to frequent the port in large numbers during the central decades of the century. It was common practice, though, for Genoese merchants to own significant shares of such ships in order to control their movements and use them as an auxiliary fleet, without exposing themselves economically to the total cost outlay for their construction and maintenance.[22] After 1590, however, not only the majority of foreign vessels but a majority of all vessels entering the port of Genoa were either from the Low Countries or the Hanseatic cities (though the Hanse were quickly edged out of the trade by the Dutch).[23] The difference was great. The relationship between shipowning and commerce was much tighter among the northerners, and the arrival of their ships also meant the arrival of their merchants, with a consequent loosening of Genoese control over its own port traffic.[24]

Not all of these trends were unique to Genoa. The curve representing the size of the fleet is quite similar for the Republic of Venice. The size of the Venetian fleet has been estimated at roughly 15,400 tons at the close of the fifteenth century, rising to its maximum level of expansion in 1567 with an estimated total shipping capacity (excluding galleys) of around 30,000 tons.[25] Little more than twenty years later, in 1590, the size of the fleet is estimated to have been only 5,000 tons, rising to a still modest 10,000 tons in 1605.[26] The role of the Ragusan fleet in relation to the two maritime centers of Venice and Genoa was practically the same; the big Ragusan ships were integrated into the more advanced economies of the maritime republics as an auxiliary fleet. While the port of Ragusa, modern-day Dubrovnik, specialized in ship construction, it remained much less important as a commercial center. The Ragusan fleet, by far the largest Mediterranean fleet during the sixteenth century, followed a parabola similar to the one described for Venetian and Genoese shipping capacity: roughly 30,000 tons during the years 1539 to 1544, 66,000 tons between 1570 and 1585, and 36,000 tons in the early seventeenth century.[27]

The arrival of large numbers of northern Europeans near the end of the sixteenth century also had similar, though not identical, effects on Venice's and Genoa's maritime trade. The role of Venice as intermediary between the eastern Mediterranean and Europe was much more directly menaced by the northern shippers, who could supplant the Adriatic city's redistributive role by carrying goods directly from the East to the countries of northern Europe or to the grow-

ing emporium of Amsterdam. As for the Ragusan fleet, its role was seriously compromised by the arrival of the northern Europeans, who quickly took over much of the infra-Mediterranean carrying trade and were later also to provide serious competition in the construction of vessels for a southern clientele.

Although these changes did not go unnoticed by contemporaries, the nature of the change was not always completely understood. During the second decade of the sixteenth century some effort was made in Genoa to contrast the effects of the broad trend toward the use of smaller vessels; seeing fewer of the largest vessels at a time when the composition of the fleet was changing, the protectors (*protettori*) of the Casa di San Giorgio thought that the overall size of the fleet was diminishing and that the city's power at sea had grown weaker. In 1513, with the intent of remedying the perceived decline, the bank decided to issue a series of subsidies for the construction of *navi*, a generic term referring to the largest ships.[28] A year later only four requests had been made to take advantage of the subsidies, and in 1515 the bank sought to make the offer more attractive.[29] Sometime within the next three years, though, the protectors of the Casa di San Giorgio decided that the largest ships were not necessarily those best adapted to the type of trade then being carried on in Genoa, and in 1518 the subsidies were made available for the construction of smaller vessels as well.[30]

Initially the shift in the composition of the city's fleet and a reduction in the number of large ships were seen as a decline in the republic's sea power and prompted public, or rather "para-public,"[31] intervention. In light of the episodes discussed later in this book and the gradual emergence of a coherent maritime policy in the Republic of Genoa, this precedent not only demonstrates the city oligarchs' willingness to intervene in questions regarding maritime strength in the early sixteenth century, but also highlights the form of intervention decided upon and the motivations given for intervening. The rationale behind providing subsidies for the construction of big sailing vessels was to sustain maritime commerce and maintain jobs in the shipbuilding industry,[32] a pattern that would be repeated again and again for more than a century and a half. At various moments the hopes of attaining these goals were attached to projects for the construction of galleys, for the formation of joint-stock companies, and later for the acquisition of a state-owned fleet of galleons. The form of such intervention, as established in 1514, was that of a 20,000 lire subsidy to be paid out in four installments at specific phases of the ship's construction, while the owner of the ship committed himself to bringing 4,000 mine of salt from Ibiza to the Ufficium Salis.[33]

Another striking element of this scheme for increasing the size of the fleet, again in contrast with later plans, is that it is based on encouraging private initiative, whereas later projects are based at the very least on consistent state participation if not complete state ownership of vessels. In the second decade of the sixteenth century shipping and shipbuilding were still very attractive to the city's wealthiest merchants, who simply needed to be encouraged to build big vessels. The preference for large ships also reflected a concern for military questions; in times of need, ships belonging to private owners could be requisitioned by the state and therefore represented a wartime asset for the republic. Even in the second decade of the sixteenth century ships were not so heavily armed with naval artillery to make the greater defensive capabilities of a taller vessel irrelevant. Big ships were also necessary for transporting troops and supplies for galley fleets on any extended campaign.

Little more than sixty years later, in the midst of a dramatic decline in the size of its fleet, Venice too would resort to giving state subsidies for shipbuilding. Beginning around 1573, just after the Turkish war, the increased cost of building ships quickly led to the abandonment of larger projects. For much the same reasons as the Genoese in 1513, the Venetian government offered subventions of 2,700 Venetian ducats for the construction of ships of more than 500 botte, a figure that rose gradually to more than 10,000 ducats for ships of 800 to 1,000 botte.[34] Between 1590 and 1610 the size of the fleet did rise from 5,000 to 10,000 tons, but this increase could conceivably represent a twenty-year development not related to the state subsidies.

In Genoa, the contrast between the 1513–18 plan for subsidizing ship construction and later schemes for intervention in maritime questions reflects two important changes within the republic's ruling class during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although it points to a changed attitude regarding the nature of the military presence to be maintained at sea by the republic, it also reflects a significant trend that was underway by the second half of the sixteenth century at the very latest. The city's wealthiest merchants and most prominent families abandoned shipping and shipowning, preferring either to delegate that activity to an economically less powerful class, or to hold part ownership in foreign vessels, thus controlling the movements of ships while risking as little capital as possible.[35] Part of the decline in the size of the "Genoese" fleet during the second half of the century, then, must be attributed to this change in patterns of ownership. At a certain point it is impossible to speak of a "Genoese" fleet or a "Ragusan" fleet in any terms other than under which standard it sailed. In other

words, how should the proportion of foreign auxiliary fleets owned by Genoese merchants be accounted for when calculating the size of the domestic fleet? Despite the lack of a clear answer, all sources agree that Genoese participation in maritime trade did diminish during the last decades of the sixteenth century as more and more capital was absorbed by the more lucrative activity of financing the Spanish crown.

A very important category of ships, however, has not yet been discussed and is not included in the estimates given earlier regarding fleet sizes: galleys. If anything, the importance of galleys increased for the Genoese over the course of the 1500s, to some extent due to their role as a military vessel, but mostly because of a whole range of political and economic factors bound up with the operation of galleys.

Before we consider such implications, some discussion is due regarding the types of ships that made up the fleets in the Mediterranean and the roles assigned to those ship types. By the late fifteenth century a number of fairly specialized vessels had evolved and were in use in the Mediterranean. These craft ranged from the small vessels used by fishermen and in cabotage to galleys used for carrying high-value goods and carracks employed in long-distance shipping. Although the smaller vessels played an essential role in the everyday life of great numbers of people and held a key role in the economies of coastal regions throughout the Mediterranean, they have also left far fewer traces in the contracts and fiscal records surviving in the archives and are therefore much more elusive to the historian than their larger and better-documented counterparts, the carrack and the galley. The enormous carracks used on the longest routes, sometimes as large as 1,500 tons in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, represented merely one stage in the ongoing evolution of sailing vessel types, whereas the galley, which by the end of the fifteenth century had grown to a length of more than forty meters, was to become an increasingly specialized form of ship. The carracks of the sixteenth century, unlike their medieval predecessors—the cog, the hulk, and the Mediterranean round ship—were elaborately rigged with three to five masts carrying as many as six square sails and a lateen sail on the mizzen or aftermast, giving it a speed and maneuverability previously unseen in ships driven exclusively by the wind. Manned by a relatively small crew, the carrack initially transported goods with a bulk market and a fairly low value-to-weight ratio. In the fifteenth century carracks were used for the transport of grain and timber, alum and iron, dates and oil. Goods with a high value-to-weight ratio, on the other hand, tended to find room in galleys.

The differentiation is simple to explain; a carrack with a crew of approximately 1 man per every 4 to 8 tons burden,[36] depending on the perceived need for defense, could offer much lower freight rates than a galley with a crew of more than 200 on a ship of only 140 to 170 tons.[37] In cases where high transportation costs could account for a proportionally large share of sale price, the bigger ships were preferred in spite of their relative slowness. Expensive goods such as silk (both raw and worked), spices, and precious metals, if sent by sea, were almost always sent in galleys; for such high-priced merchandise, transportation costs, even in galleys, represented only a small fraction of the final selling price,[38] and the larger crew and speed of the galley meant a greater capacity for self-defense.

The placement of cannon on board ships in the late fifteenth century, however, affected the relative advantages of one ship type over another. The carrack, whose defense previously lay in the difficulty of boarding a tall ship, could now employ the same weapons as the galley; in fact, throughout most of the sixteenth century the single most limiting factor concerning the amount of artillery a carrack could carry was the high cost of bronze guns.[39] Although the combination of a large carrying capacity and the possibility of mounting several cannon made the carrack, and later the galleon, suitable to European overseas expansion, the galley was not replaced by the armed sailing vessel. The introduction of naval artillery led to a further specialization of the galley as a military machine. In spite of the limited space for the placement of guns on a galley, this ship type continued to offer a number of advantages over its strictly wind-driven counterparts; the proportions of the galley's hull, its shallow draft, and the use of the lateen sail made it incomparably faster than carrack or galleon (allowing the galley the initiative in battle), and the use of oars gave the galley a freedom of movement in calms and a degree of mobility that allowed it to choose its point of attack in a duel with a carrack or galleon and therefore limit its exposure to enemy fire. Again, the galley's maneuverability and shallow draft made it the preferred vessel for amphibious operations where the ability to provide close-in artillery support could be crucial. The disadvantages of the oared vessel were equally marked, however. The size of the crew made for very high operating costs and severely limited the galley's autonomy, forcing it to make frequent stops for food and water. The same hull architecture that determined its speed also caused instability in rough seas, limiting its practical use to the period running from mid-March to mid-November[40] and to relatively calm or at least predictable bodies of water: the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the Red Sea, and

the like. In short, one type of ship did not replace the other,[41] but the technological advances of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries led to a greater specialization of roles for the different types of ships and, I would add, a greater specialization of the galley as a military vessel.

A great deal of technological progress was made during this period in the design and construction of sailing vessels, primarily among the Atlantic powers.[42] New proportions were experimented with, making hulls sleeker, while new combinations of sails and more advanced rigging made sailing vessels faster and more maneuverable. The high forecastles of the carrack were also lowered, reducing wind resistance at the bow. The resulting ship types, especially the relatively small caravel and the large galleon, were very versatile ships, suited to a broad range of uses, from oceanic exploration to long-range shipping and, clearly, to warfare. Given the improved speed and maneuverability, the relative disadvantages of the sailing vessel as a warship were reduced. While the Atlantic powers were quick to adopt the new ship types, especially for use in warfare, Mediterranean powers were relatively slow to imitate them, at least for use as fighting vessels. This was due to the widespread use of the galley as a specialized warship. While the limits of the galley were sorely felt in Atlantic waters, thus encouraging shipbuilders to seek to develop more versatile fighting vessels, the galley was still well suited to the type of naval warfare carried on in the Mediterranean throughout the sixteenth century. This could range from large-scale fleet operations, often involving amphibious assaults where the ability to coordinate maneuvers was of paramount importance, to corsair activities, such as preying on merchant vessels or coastal raids, where the speed and shallow draft of the galley were essential. In a sense, it was the success of the galley in fulfilling the needs of Mediterranean powers that slowed development of other types of warship; there simply was less perceived need to replace or supplement the galley until the Atlantic powers had developed craft that could successfully combat and even attack galleys in the Mediterranean.

With the spread of relatively inexpensive iron cannon toward the end of the sixteenth century, broadside sailing vessels began to mount more and more artillery, forcing the galley to grow as well in order to avoid being outclassed. The greater size and subsequently larger crews significantly increased operating costs and rendered the galley inadequate for the transport of all but the most expensive goods. Given its limited possibilities as a trading vessel, the galley came to be seen more and more in terms of its fighting ability.

When it was used for commercial purposes, the galley tended to carry very

specialized cargoes. Galleys also constituted a separate category of vessels for the Genoese tax collectors and, in fact, cannot be counted through the records of the *jactus navium* used to form the estimates given previously. Just how many galleys, then, were there in Genoa during the sixteenth century? Of equal importance are the questions of who owned them and what they were used for, as well as what benefits they brought their owners. The apparently simple task of listing the galleys active at any one moment and to whom they belonged is in effect quite difficult; their individual entry into port was not registered by the port authorities and, though it is possible to count the galleys in the service of the king of Spain in certain moments, there is no reason to believe that the "Spanish" squadron accounted for all of the privately owned galleys. On the contrary, a number of Genoese can be found commanding galleys for the papacy, ships that could very easily have been privately owned and merely serving the pope under contract. Clearly, however, the most important Genoese galley owners of the sixteenth century were Andrea Doria and his successor, Gian Andrea Doria.

Andrea Doria first appeared as a galley commander in the pay of the republic in 1512—when the French occupied the city, Doria left with the two galleys under his command. In 1516 we find him owner of three galleys under contract to Ottaviano Fregoso. Doria also contracted out his galleys to Francis I and Pope Clement VII before entering the service of Charles V in 1528. His 1528 contract covered twelve galleys provided by Doria, now captain general of the sea for the emperor, raised to fifteen galleys in 1530. Doria's fleet included twenty-two of his own galleys at the battle of Prevesa in 1538 and twenty in 1552 at the battle of Ponza.[43] Alongside the twenty belonging to Andrea Doria in 1552 we find another six belonging to Antonio Doria and two *galere di Monaco* belonging to the Grimaldi.[44]

When command of the Genoese squadron (that is, the Doria squadron, the flotilla of privately owned galleys hired out to Spain, not to be confused with the squadron of the republic) passed to Gian Andrea Doria after the death of Andrea, other names were added to the list of galley owners in the service of Spain. Alongside Doria's twelve galleys in 1568 we find four each provided by Luciano Centurione and Pietro Battista Lomellini (who brought an additional galley on the Lepanto campaign) and another two by Giorgio Grimaldi.[45] Four galleys owned by Ambrogio Negrone were also present at Lepanto.[46] By the 1580s at the latest Cosma Centurione, Agapito Grillo, Giovanni Antonio De Marini, Bendinelli Sauli, and Odoardo Cigala are on the list.[47] The question of ownership, though, is more complicated at this point; in 1582 Gian Andrea Doria sold

ten of his twelve galleys to Philip II, who in turn ceded them to De Marini, Centurione, and Grillo.[48]

The purchase of the galleys by Philip II can in part be explained by the Spanish king's long-term plans to own all of the galleys in his service and, if possible, to provide for their needs through the services of state officials. Approximately one-third of the roughly 60 galleys in the service of the crown at Philip's accession to the throne belonged to the king. Following a dramatic naval buildup culminating in the 1570s, about 100 of the 146 galleys in the Spanish Mediterranean fleet were owned by the king.[49] Philip's attempts to govern the galleys through *administración*, though, rather than through *asiento* were neither as linear nor as successful. The disadvantages of contracting out the galleys in *asiento* were clear enough; the concentration of military command, financial interests, and financial responsibility in the same hands meant entrusting the galleys to precisely the people least willing to risk them in battle. It had also been argued that the galleys, especially those owned by the king, could be operated and equipped more efficiently and at less expense than through the contract system, which in the end was based on the profit motive on the part of the contractor or commander. In practice, though, the direct administration of the galleys by state officials proved to be a disaster. Given the inefficiency of the bureaucratic machinery and the inability to provide stable finances for the galleys or even to transfer money at the right moment to the right place for it to be useful, by the 1570s the Spanish galleys in *administración* were costing nearly twice as much to operate as those in *asiento* and were much less efficient due to a chronic lack of oarsmen and supplies.[50] After considerable vacillation on the matter, in 1584 the king reversed his tendency to keep as many galleys as possible in *administración* and once again sought contractors to manage his galleys. It does not follow, however, that Philip's desire to own as many of the galleys in his service as possible had changed. Already in 1566 he had bought four of the privately owned galleys in the Genoa squadron[51] and in 1582 he bought ten of Gian Andrea Doria's twelve galleys, contracting out their operation.

For his part Doria had actively sought the agreement. As early as 1571 Doria, who was said to be in debt for 200,000 ducats, had offered to sell his galleys to the crown but backed out of the deal when he found out that Philip planned to resell them to the wealthy Genoese banker Nicolò Grimaldi.[52] The income from selling the ships apparently would not have offset the shift in prestige and political clout stemming from a rivalry with the Grimaldi in the sensitive area of naval command.

While the diminishing profits of operating warships as *asentista* to the Spanish crown must certainly have weighed heavily in the decision, it should be pointed out that even Andrea Doria had had difficulty in collecting the sums stipulated in his contracts (in 1552, for example, he was able to collect only 96,170 of the 123,000 ducats owed him).[53] Payments did not improve in the following years. In 1588 we find that the ten galleys contracted out to Cosma Centurione, Agapito Grillo, and Giovanni Antonio De Marini had accumulated 200,000 ducats in arrears. Even so, when Philip sought *asentistas* in 1584, a Centurione offered to take twelve galleys of the Spanish squadron (that is, the squadron based in Spain) on a contract basis. The deal fell through because of Spanish unwillingness to offer more than four galleys to a single individual or to give galleys from the Spanish squadron over to a foreigner.[54] Again, more than a decade and a half later and with the Spanish galley fleet in a disastrous state, Vincenzo Centurione offered to take the twelve galleys of the Spanish squadron in *asiento*. He finally concluded a contract for nine galleys in 1608, five from the existing squadron and four that he was to provide himself. When Centurione died two years later, Ambrogio Spinola (not to be confused with the marquis of the same name, commander of the Spanish army of Flanders between 1603 and 1628) offered to take over the contract.[55] In spite of the high risks inherent in the activity, combined with the risks related to royal insolvency, there was a continued interest on the part of the Genoese to pursue this activity. And it would be difficult to believe that they did not reap a profit from it. In fact, in 1582 Gian Andrea Doria sold his ships, but he did not withdraw from the activity. Ownership of the vessels themselves was transferred to the king while Doria continued to operate them as *asentista*. Sale of the galleys merely represented a limitation on the concentration of investment capital, because the *asentista* was still required to provide crews and pay for the ships' maintenance (a crew of slave oarsmen could cost a great deal more than the vessel itself).

The profit to be made by the *asentista* went, in fact, well beyond the amount of money paid him for each galley under contract, whether of his own property or of the king's. Among the benefits usually written into the contracts that could be turned into a profit were the right to collect 14 percent interest on late payments and licenses to export wheat from Sicily at a fixed, reduced price. (Nominally for the production of biscuit, the principal staple of the galley crews, the exports allowed always exceeded needs.) Budgets could be swollen through the depredation of enemy vessels, and the galleys could also be used to transport merchandise while in the service of the king. As far as these last two items are

concerned, it was as though the king's funding were merely a subvention for the galleys' own activities regardless of their contractual affiliation. Perhaps the most important elements of the relationship between the crown and the Genoese *asentistas de galeras*, however, lay in the provision to extract bullion from Spain and the contractors' power to hire crew and officers.

Regarding the former, the *licencias de saca* were often necessary simply for paying the galley contractors. Given the brisk contraband trade in American silver, however, and the necessities of Genoese financiers and merchants to extract bullion from the Iberian Peninsula, the licenses for exporting even limited quantities of silver could offer coverage for illegal but lucrative exports. Then, in 1568, the English managed to capture the Spanish silver fleet en route to the Low Countries. As a result, the Mediterranean route gained enormously in importance because bullion had to be shipped to Italy both for overland transport to the Spanish troops in Flanders[56] and for the settlement of bills of exchange on the Italian money markets, once again for the payment of troops in the Low Countries. Whether legal or contraband, on behalf of the king or of private merchants and bankers, such shipments were of enormous importance to the Genoese economy during the latter third of the sixteenth century and beyond. The influence that Andrea Doria had been able to exercise over the bankers, due to Charles V's need of Doria's galleys, had been transformed into a more subtle but certainly not a weaker union between the Genoese galley owners and the Genoese bankers.

As for the importance of the contractor's responsibility and privilege of providing the crew for galleys held in *asiento*, we should also bear in mind two contemporary observations. One dates from the years 1608–11 and is to be found among Andrea Spinola's *Osservazioni intorno al governo di Genova*;[57] the other was made by the Venetian ambassador to Spain, Leonardo Donà, forty years earlier in 1571. Listing and commenting on the artifices used by the Habsburg monarchs to keep Genoa bound to Spain, Spinola mentions that the king "keeps here a squadron of 16 to 18 galleys, through which he holds the interest of a good number of nobles, to whom he always remains debtor for great sums, which he pays out piecemeal very slowly; those wishing to leave [the king's service] would be lucky to obtain what His Majesty owes them."[58]

Donà's comment refers to Gian Andrea Doria's first offer to sell his galleys to Philip II. Donà observes that, should Doria follow through with the offer, "he would lose nearly all his reputation, given that with an armed squadron of eleven

galleys in his possession he puts the crown in the state of needing to use him," adding later that "with this sale he [would] lose both in Genoa and everywhere much of his earlier reputation."[59] In the same way that the galleys represented a guarantee of loyalty to the king of Spain, they also represented the *asentista*'s "reputation" both in Genoa and abroad. Andrea Spinola grasped the importance of the galleys as a tool for creating a clientele system under the king of Spain, but the galleys were also a vehicle for creating a clientele pyramid and zones of allegiance within the city. The ability in particular to choose officers, and therefore to confer positions of prestige, constituted a very real source of power—*riputatione*—in the city, while the sway at court guaranteed by the control of a squadron of galleys ensured Doria's image and influence internationally, as it did to a lesser degree for the other Genoese *asentistas de galeras.* The king kept the galley owners and contractors "interested" in maintaining the republic's alliance with Spain, while the same *asentistas* kept a number of prominent citizens "interested" in their own well-being.

Edoardo Grendi claims that by 1563 at the latest the names of the city's most wealthy aristocrats begin to disappear from the ranks of shipowners.[60] As was clear even to contemporaries, the profits to be had from financial activities were much greater than those to be earned through shipping. And even for those who remained active in maritime commerce, part ownership in foreign vessels could guarantee a necessary degree of control over the ships without the risk of capital represented by owning entire vessels. Braudel mentions at least a partial abandonment of trade on the part of the Genoese in Spain after the 1560s, another theme noted in contemporary literature.[61] The abandonment of merchant shipping did not mean, however, the abandonment of maritime activities, as demonstrated by the continued activity of Genoese as *asentistas de galeras.* The names of the most important aristocratic families can be found associated with galley ownership throughout the period discussed in this book. Moreover, even though the Genoese continued to operate and hire out galley squadrons during the seventeenth century, they were not, as has been suggested, ignorant of the changes then underway in nautical technology and naval tactics. When the Spanish embarked on an ambitious program to build up their high seas fleet at the end of Philip III's and the beginning of Philip IV's reign, we again find the Genoese among the contractors for the construction, manning, and command of a number of ships. Of the seventy sailing ships built for the Spanish between 1617 and 1623, eighteen were provided by Genoese.[62]

The Republic of Genoa: Prince or Pauper?

> Habbiamo in Italia due Republiche floridissime, Venetia, e Genova: di queste senza dubbio, che Venetia avanza di gran lunga Genova, e di Stato, e di grandezza. Se ne cercaremo la ragione, trovaremo ciò esser avvenuto, perche Venetiani, attendendo alla mercatantia reale, si sono arricchiti mediocremente in particolare, ma infinitamente in commune. All'incontro i Genovesi, impiegandosi affatto in cambij, hanno arricchito immoderatamente le facoltà particolari, ma impoverito estremamente l'entrate publiche.[63]
>
> — BOTERO, *Della Ragion di Stato*, 29

One of the most striking aspects of the Republic of Genoa during the "Genoese century" is its chronic shortage of funds. While a number of Genoese citizens were gaining control over the machinery of international finance, the republic's coffers remained, in the words of Giovanni Botero, "extremely impoverished," a point made both by contemporaries and by more recent historians. In fact, the balance sheets of the state seem to present a paradox; the republic was continually strapped for money, yet in a period of only thirty years funds were found for considerably enlarging the city's defenses, for waging war against the combined forces of France and the Ottoman Empire, and for putting down a widespread rebellion in Corsica,[64] undertakings that would have easily brought many comparably sized states to bankruptcy. During precisely the same years Genoese financiers found the resources to gain control over the Antwerp money market and to loan more money to the Spanish crown than all other groups combined.

The key to understanding the apparent paradox, then, lies in the rather fluid division between "public" and "private" and the none-too-consolidated role of the "state" in the affairs of the sixteenth-century Genoese. First of all, the very distinction between "public" and "private" can be misleading; the Genoese ruling class, the "single order" of the nobility formed in 1528, was both the pool from which the republic's governors were chosen and the economic elite whose interests ranged across the continent and even beyond. That is not to say merely that the principal figures of the economic elite and the oligarchs holding the highest charges in the government were drawn from the same group but that they were often the very same individuals. Public support of private citizens was often not a question of one group supporting another but of the same persons using one institution and their influence in one sphere to further their own in-

terests in another separate sphere of activity. The internal coherence of the *unicus ordo*, of course, was far from complete, and its unification was not always a peaceful process; but the mechanisms were the same for the two principal groups. Both the *nobili vecchi*, increasingly involved in finance, and the *nobili nuovi*, involved primarily in manufacturing and trade, when possible used the apparatus of the state as a tool for the promotion of their private interests.

The republic's fiscal machinery and its "poverty" illustrate this phenomenon well. As mentioned earlier, the Republic of Genoa's poverty was illusory and did not represent a lack of funds or even the inability to tap the resources of the city's many wealthy citizens, but rather the unwillingness on the part of the republic's ruling class to tax itself when it was possible to avoid doing so. In times of need, on the other hand, in situations that constituted a threat for the entirety of the nobility or in projects deemed useful to the whole of the ruling class, extraordinary taxes on the estates of the wealthy were voted and levied. Thus, for example, given the prospect of losing Corsica and consequently of losing control over the Ligurian Sea and maritime links between Italy and Spain, the nobility gathered the funds necessary for carrying on the war. During more tranquil times, however, the tax burden fell on a very different stratum of society. Whether the republic's budget was relatively small simply because it was sustained by the less affluent classes or whether it was kept small in order to force a low political profile on the government, or both, the results were the same. The government was left little room for initiative and therefore little possibility of jeopardizing the international affairs of the most prominent citizens.[65] At the same time the estates of those prominent citizens were not eroded, because taxes on estates never exceeded 1 percent. Finances for the everyday operation of the state, on the other hand, were guaranteed by a series of taxes on consumption, by import and export duties, and by taxes on port traffic. The right to collect many of these duties had been alienated to the Casa di San Giorgio, which since its foundation in 1407 had become the principal financial institution of the republic.

The Casa di San Giorgio was formed in April 1407 through the consolidation of the city-state's public debt, until then divided in various *monti* (loans granted to the city-state's government), and the division of the debt in *luoghi*, or redeemable, negotiable shares. Duties and *gabelle* had been instated in the past as guarantees for the various *monti;* in exchange for the loan to the state the creditor bought the right to collect the duty or a proportion of the duty assigned to the extinction of that particular debt. With the consolidation of the public debt the various *gabelle* assigned to the various debts were all alienated to the

Casa di San Giorgio. Each of the *luoghi*, then, represented a proportion of the total debt and was to be reimbursed through the income of the combined sum of taxes assigned to the Casa di San Giorgio. Over the course of the fifteenth century even a number of the republic's territorial possessions and colonies were placed under the bank's administration as guarantees for further loans. In fact, in a famous passage written in the early 1520s Niccolò Machiavelli foresaw that San Giorgio would eventually absorb all of the lands under Genoese control (an eventuality that Machiavelli deemed desirable, given the stability of the bank in comparison to the instability of the republic).[66]

Internally the bank was organized around three councils or offices and the General Council.[67] The principal offices were that of the *protettori* (the protectors), that of the *procuratori* (the procurators), and the Magistrato del Sale (the Salt Magistracy), each of which was composed of eight nobles (as defined in 1528), each with a one-year term of office, four individuals being rotated out every six months. The *protettori* were responsible for the overall administration of the bank, the *procuratori* for the collection of taxes in the jurisdiction of San Giorgio, and the Salt Magistracy for protecting the bank's monopoly on the salt trade and connected duties. The General Council of shareholders was called by the *protettori* to approve or disapprove the proposals set forth by the *protettori* themselves or any proposed modifications in the bank's regime. One *sindico* or controller and three chancellors completed the institution's administration.

Over the course of the sixteenth century the last territories alienated to Saint George were placed once again under the direct jurisdiction of the republic. The degree of financial dependence remained high, though; a 1605 memorandum, or *relazione*, concerning defense spending gives the annual income of the bank as 1,644,000 lire, while that of the republic was estimated at only 450,000.[68] Machiavelli's vision of San Giorgio, however, as the example of a good government in contrast to the republic's bad government, a well-ordered state within a disorderly one, is misleading.[69] The two entities were inseparable; San Giorgio was very much an instrument of the republic and even more so of the republic's ruling class. Because the administration of the bank was in the hands of the major "shareholders," who for the most part were the wealthiest men in the city, both the Casa di San Giorgio and the republic drew on substantially the same pool of individuals in order to fill the positions of command. A very strong link between the bank and the republic existed in the very persons who administered, alternatively, both entities. The interests of San Giorgio

Palazzo San Giorgio, seat of the famous financial institution. Built in 1260 as the customshouse, in 1407 the building became the seat of the *Ufficio di San Giorgio*. It was enlarged in 1570, and the facade frescoed in 1606–8 by Lazzaro Tavarone. (Photo by author.)

were substantially the same as those of the republic, or rather as those of the republic's ruling class, because they were both made up of the same individuals. Some divergences did, of course, appear as is inevitable in a relationship between debtor and creditor, but given the fundamental affinity of interests compromises could usually be reached.

The extent to which the Casa di San Giorgio was an instrument of the city's ruling class becomes clear if we look at the bank's role in the Genoese fiscal structure. Many taxes were levied on the sale of small quantities of consumer goods or staples—for example, the *gabella della pinta* or the *pancogolo* to be paid on wine sold by the pint and on bread, respectively, taxes that inevitably weighed more heavily on the poor who were unable to buy in larger quantities. The primary sources of income for San Giorgio, however, were the tax on salt, and duties levied on imports, exports, and port traffic. While such exactions fell primarily on merchants and shippers, they were easily passed on to the consumer. In addition to the ability to pass the tax burden down the chain of transactions to the end consumer, however, those with capital could also take advantage of the structure of San Giorgio in order to reap a profit from the republic's dependence on the bank. The owners of *luoghi* were paid interest deriving from the collection of duties, but there was also the possibility of earning money through the collection of the taxes themselves. The republic auctioned off the right to collect the various *gabelle* to private individuals or groups who could thus turn a further profit. In like manner, in order to cover deficit spending, many of the republic's magistracies resorted to taking loans *sopra cambi* at the Piacenza exchange fairs. Letters of credit would be drawn up in favor of the borrowing magistracy with payment due (including interest, of course) at the following fair. Given the republic's tight finances such loans tended to be floated from one fair to the next, accumulating relatively high interests and therefore profits to the private operators at the fairs, all to the detriment of those paying the *gabelle*, who would eventually have to extinguish the debts.

More than a state within a state, therefore, the Casa di San Giorgio was an integral part of the state, an instrument of the state, but not of the "state" as Machiavelli conceived it, the entire community forming a sovereign unit. The Casa di San Giorgio was a tool used by the ruling class in order to maintain its grasp on the Republic of Genoa, creating a bond of mutual dependence to the profit of the individuals who controlled both.

CHAPTER THREE

Public Galleys and Private Interests, 1559–1607

Having sketched out a broad outline of the Republic of Genoa's sixteenth-century political and economic context, we now shift our attention to an analysis of the more dynamic elements of Genoese politics and, in particular, to those events and trends that shaped the republic's maritime policy. The development of such policy, one of the principal points of encounter between the political and economic spheres of activity in the Republic of Genoa, took place in three very broad phases.

The first phase, roughly the second half of the sixteenth century, beginning on the eve of Andrea Doria's death, is characterized by Genoa's geopolitical stability as a close ally if not satellite of Spain and the growing involvement of Genoese bankers in Spanish finances (growing both in terms of amounts of money and in terms of numbers of people involved). This period was also one of marked political involution, during which the themes and problematics regarding maritime questions assumed a form that would accompany such questions for more than a century. The very constancy, on the other hand, of the alliance with Spain created a degree of security that allowed for political involution and concentration on the imbalances present in internal politics; the strength of the

ally and the degree of Spanish hegemony in the western Mediterranean precluded any need for the Genoese to present a common front against outside forces. While much criticism was made during these years of the bonds created between the Genoese and the Habsburgs, there was no call for a radical break in the alliance with Spain; those who called for change merely sought a reformulation of the terms of the alliance. The second of the three phases is typified by the breakdown of the political alliance with Spain, whereas the third witnessed a broad range of proposed alternatives to the Spanish alliance, eventually leading to the formulation of a coherent maritime policy for the republic. These latter two periods will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5. Consideration of the first phase begins with a brief look at the city during Doria's lifetime.

In the years following the reforms of 1528, which witnessed Andrea Doria's domination of the city's political scene, the Genoese ruling class presented itself as surprisingly compact. Throughout the last third of Doria's long life (he died in 1560 at the age of ninety-four), the regime established with his occupation of the city in 1528 withstood the pressures of internal rivalry and the external turbulence of the Habsburg-Valois wars and more localized fighting in Italy. Because Genoa was a large city in a strategic position, essential for controlling access to northern Italy by either land or sea, its political alignment was of constant concern to both Charles V and Francis I. Home to some 51,150 people in 1531 (down from about 60,000 in 1500) and roughly 65,000 at midcentury,[1] Genoa was relatively large (compared with London's 40,000 or Amsterdam's 14,000 in 1500, but also with Venice's 100,000 or Florence's 70,000). Its importance in the broader political arena lay, however, not in the sheer numbers of its inhabitants, but with the capital they controlled and their financial ability, coupled with the military and organizational capabilities of its seafarers and naval *condottieri*. From 1528 until well into the seventeenth century, however, Genoa's alliance with Charles V and Spain was never seriously questioned. After the constitutional reforms, Genoa remained an ally to the Habsburgs in all the conflicts of the sixteenth century, and Spain remained the constant reference point in the republic's international diplomacy.

The ephemeral attempts to alter the new regime shed light on the degree of solidity found within Genoa, simply due to their utter failure. That is not to say that there was no tension, or no rivalries or even resentment of Doria's ascendancy over the republic; still, the new constitutional structure, feigned neutrality, and real bonds to the emperor succeeded in providing the boundaries within which political action took place. In 1536 Cesare Fregoso attempted to take

Genoa with French arms but was unable to muster support within the city and had to abandon the undertaking. Nostalgia for the violent alternation between Adorno and Fregoso was apparently lacking, as was a desire to return to French domination. The succession of doges continued peacefully, even when the *nobili nuovi* broke the unwritten rule of alternation between old and new nobility in the office of doge. In 1544 the new noble Giovanni Battista Fornari was elected to succeed a new noble; however, Andrea Doria stepped in as mediator and defused the situation.

The attempted coup staged by Gian Luigi Fieschi in 1547 was a more serious matter. Fieschi managed to recruit a number of disgruntled citizens from both factions and, with the armed support of vassals from his family's feudal possessions, attempted to gain control of the city. His intentions were to kill Andrea and Giannettino Doria (Andrea's nephew and designated heir), as well as the banker Adamo Centurione, Doria's close ally (and Giannettino's father-in-law). With those key figures eliminated the conspirators would then have delivered the city to the French, thus "liberating" it from the "tyranny" of the Doria. Fieschi's supporters did kill Giannettino Doria (Andrea was away), but the coup collapsed when its leader died; while trying to take possession of the galleys, Fieschi slipped and fell into the port with his armor on. The entire episode was a blow to Andrea Doria, both personally and politically. After regaining control of the city, Doria confiscated the feudal possessions of the Fieschi, named a new heir, Giannettino's young son Gian Andrea, and proposed legislation to restrict access to the highest offices of the republic. This law, known as the *garibetto*, was never approved by the Maggior Consiglio and became the focus of much later criticism. Another plot by the former doge G. B. Fornari to stage a coup with French support in 1549 was discovered, and Fornari was exiled.[2]

With regard to any sort of maritime policy, clearly it was once again Andrea Doria who dominated the scene. Doria's squadron of galleys and the complement of soldiers that accompanied them constituted an essential tool both for maintaining control of Genoa and for ensuring Doria's own position within the hierarchy of Charles V's empire—a tool that did not allow rivals. The chronicler Giacomo Bonfadio recounts that in 1528, upon taking office, the new government set about ensuring control over the republic's territories and then, still in 1528, decided to have twelve galleys built. It built and equipped the ships that winter and in early 1529 chose the captains and crews. But before the ships could enter service a mysterious fire destroyed them in the night. The sources are unclear, but this may have happened more than once. On Charles V's cam-

paign against Tunis in 1535, of the thirty-six galleys commanded by Genoese only three had been armed by the republic. From Doria's point of view, and that of the other naval *condottieri*, the state did not need its own fleet; in times of need the vessels of the republic's private citizens would have to suffice. This policy was put to the test during the final years of Doria's life.

The Novelty of the Magistrato delle galere

In spite of its very clear ties with the Habsburg monarchy after the events of 1528, the Republic of Genoa claimed formal neutrality in the interminable Habsburg-Valois wars and had been able to remain substantially outside the conflict until August 1553.[3] In that month the French landed the rebel Sampiero della Bastelica in Corsica.[4] With the support of the French and Turkish fleets as well as funds and troops provided by France, the rebellion quickly spread throughout the island, and the Republic of Genoa found itself deeply involved in a conflict destined to exacerbate latent tensions and contradictions in the reigning order of Genoese society. The invasion of Corsica immediately demonstrated just how firmly the republic was set in the Spanish sphere of influence. While relations between Genoa and France had been decidedly cool during the twenty-five years since Andrea Doria had abandoned the service of Francis I in favor of Charles V, the attack on Corsica can only be seen as an effort to disrupt the broader Spanish order in the western Mediterranean—and, despite the republic's supposed neutrality, the French saw Genoa as an integral part of the Spanish system.[5]

Resentment over the republic's dependence on Spanish military aid coupled with the high cost of financing a war fought primarily by mercenary troops put a further strain on the already tense relations within the city's ruling class. The political conflicts growing out of the economic weight of the war effort came to be seen as overlapping the preexisting distinction between the old and the new nobility. In the political rhetoric that was to develop around the war, the *nobili vecchi* came to be identified with pro-Spanish positions, with entrusting the republic's defense to the fleet under Andrea Doria's command, and with a tendency to place private ambition above the public good. Indeed, the Genoese did depend heavily on the privately owned galleys serving the Spanish crown and, therefore, also on Charles V's willingness to allow the republic to use its own citizens' galleys to fight the war. The *nuovi*, on the other hand, came to identify themselves with a policy of armed neutrality and claimed to be the champions

of the common good as opposed to the *vecchi*'s alleged pursuit of private interests, even at the expense of the community at large. Leaving aside for the moment the new nobility's ability to bring about the changes it proposed for redressing the situation, suffice it to say that the war in Corsica raised a number of questions concerning the city's political order and the republic's maritime and defense policies that were to remain in the forefront of political debate for decades.

In 1559, when the cost of the war effort seemed to have become unbearable[6] and Andrea Doria unreliable,[7] the question of public armament came to a head, but almost simultaneously peace between France and Spain changed the reference points of the debate. In that year Uberto Foglietta published his bitter *Della Repubblica di Genova*, and shortly thereafter, on April 3, the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed. On July 12 the republic instituted the Magistrato delle galere, giving Genoa for the first time a permanent body concerned with maintaining a squadron of publicly owned galleys.[8] On August 28, 1559, the last French garrison left the island of Corsica.[9]

The scathing book by Uberto Foglietta, humanist cleric and exponent of the new nobility, resulted in his banishment from the republic.[10] Written in dialogue form, the polemic is centered around five interrelated themes: an implicit critique of the management of the Genoese war effort in Corsica, criticism of the divisions within the ruling class, an attack on the 1547 law known as the *garibetto*, a subtle attack on the figure of Andrea Doria, and a call for the formation of a state fleet of galleys. Written in the final phase of the war, when Genoese control in Corsica was limited to the city of Calvi, Foglietta paints a dismal picture of the republic's prospects for the future: "There is no hope of regaining our ancient glory and lost states; on the contrary, given the misfortune of recent years, we are threatened with the loss of that which is left, along with the Fatherland."[11] Nor was he willing to attribute the situation to the capricious nature of fate, as one of the dialogue's interlocutors suggests. Foglietta's response is that "While the loss of Corsica is a great one, an even greater loss threatens us; nor can we accuse Fortune's insult, or blame the stars, but [we must blame] our own passions. If we do not abandon them . . . , I fear that shortly after Corsica we shall lose ourselves."[12] The passions referred to are the factions, the obstinacy on the part of the city's ruling class for placing allegiance to the respective parties of *vecchi* and *nuovi* and to family fortune over and above the public good.

Foglietta praises the official union of 1528,[13] but at the same time launches a

ferocious attack on the old nobility en bloc. Presumably the old nobility already claimed precedence over the *nuovi* by appealing to a supposed greater antiquity of their families and to greater fame as heroes of the fatherland. Foglietta carefully reconstructs the origins of the distinction between the factions, pointing out that many "new" families were every bit as old as the "old" ones, and sets about destroying the image of the principal houses of the *vecchi*. Projecting the conflict into the city's past, Foglietta on the one hand recounts the "inestimable damage . . . , the many years of cruel tyranny, the perpetual vexation, and the ruin of the fatherland" caused by the principal houses of the old nobility,[14] and on the other he exalts the *popolare* Simon Boccanegra, who in 1339 put an end to the rule of the Doria and the Spinola.[15] The old nobility was even blamed for the vertical factions formed around the Adorno and the Fregoso who, in Foglietta's analysis, had been the pawns of the principal houses of the *vecchi*.[16] In short, there was a dangerous division running through the citizenry caused entirely by the old nobility's unfounded claim of superiority.[17]

For Uberto Foglietta, in order to overcome internal strife and save the republic from certain disaster, two seemingly unrelated changes had to be made: the 1547 law known as the *garibetto* had to be repealed, and the republic had to arm a public fleet of galleys. The *garibetto*, a reform of the procedures used in forming the governing bodies of the republic, was passed hurriedly by an ad hoc commission in the wake of Gian Luigi Fieschi's attempt to overthrow the republic and place the city under the protection of the king of France in January of 1547.[18] The reform was contrived by Andrea Doria as a means of keeping tighter control over the city and assuring Charles V that Genoa would remain in the Spanish orbit. Doria, the de facto head of the old nobility, realized that the *vecchi* were bound to Spain by incomparably greater ties than the *nuovi* (all of the Genoese financiers active at court were *nobili vecchi*, as were all but one of the *asentistas de galeras* serving the Spanish crown with Doria, a situation for which Doria himself was responsible) and that the best way of calming Charles V's worries about the republic's loyalty and avoiding the possibility of Spanish occupation was to bolster the position of the old nobility in the government.

The reform limited the role of the random extraction of names in the formation of the Maggior Consiglio and eliminated the role of chance in choosing the members of the Minor Consiglio.[19] While all 400 members of the Maggior Consiglio had previously been chosen at random, that process was now used for the selection of only 300 members. The remaining 100 were elected by the Colleges, the protectors of San Giorgio, and the *supremi sindicatori*. The 1528 laws

called for the selection of the Minor Consiglio through random extraction as well, a procedure replaced with the election of all 100 members again by the Colleges, the protectors of the Casa di San Giorgio, and the *supremi sindicatori*. Furthermore, the power to elect the doge was transferred from the greater council to the smaller one. Because the electors of the Minor Consiglio were the highest officers of the republic, who in turn were elected by the same council, control of the state was now in the hands of a small, self-regulating body. Furthermore, the system put in place through the *garibetto* allowed for greater control in maintaining a *vecchi-nuovi* equilibrium and, if anything, favored the old nobility, which had always shown itself more capable, through the use of its greater wealth, of creating clientele systems and therefore of winning elections. The new nobility, on the other hand, was more numerous and therefore favored by the former system of random extractions. In the official literature the reformers, a group of eight citizens and four senators who drafted the reform, had been commissioned "to see if there was anything to be reformed in the republic" and, after consulting Andrea Doria, decided to "change a few laws regarding the supreme magistracy" because it appeared to be the cause of "sedition in the city."[20]

For Uberto Foglietta, though, the *garibetto* was "dishonestissima & detestabile" and one of the principal causes of the insuperability of the internal division—"first, because it tends to keep the memory of these two colors [*vecchio* and *nuovo*] alive" and, second, because the old nobility being "very few in number [while] the others [the new nobility] grow each year by seven and sometimes ten families, there comes to be too disproportionate an inequality between the two colors."[21] Finally, refusing the innocuous official description of the reform's passage, Foglietta remarks bitterly on the anomalous procedure followed in its formulation; when Princivalle, Foglietta's alter ego in the dialogue, is asked why such an unusual method was used, he responds, "Why else do you think, if not because there are many actions whose authors hate the light of day?"[22]

The final elements of Foglietta's discourse revolve around the inordinate power of certain private individuals in comparison with that of the other citizens and that of the republic itself. Private ambition and thirst for power on the part of single citizens whose personal ends did not necessarily coincide with those of the republic were the "cause of all our ills."[23] Foglietta states that some old nobles desired "that in a free city there be extremely powerful citizens with excessive forces and [that] the republic be weak and disarmed" and, furthermore, that those same powerful citizens "have their own particular ends and designs, dif-

ferent from those of the community."[24] The reference to Andrea Doria and the other galley owners is clear. In fact, Foglietta provocatively suggests that if Doria really wants to protect his country, he should donate his galleys to the republic. By so doing, he would not leave the republic unarmed, and the risk that one of his successors might become a tyrant could thus be avoided. "Giving his galleys to the Fatherland, this is the only proof that he prefers the public good over the greatness of his household. . . . Otherwise how could he be called liberator if he left such power in his family as could oppress [the city's] freedom?"[25]

The pieces all fall together; the war in Corsica is going badly because the city is divided and unarmed. The city is divided and unarmed because the unifying intent of the 1528 reforms has been overturned by the *garibetto* and because the principal exponents of the old nobility are conducting the war effort through their own means and with their own ends in mind, ensuring in the meantime that the republic remains unarmed. Abolishing the *garibetto*, therefore, would allow the new nobles to gain a majority in the government and to build a public fleet at the expense of the private galley owners, redressing the imbalance between private and public power. Foglietta envisioned a permanent fleet of fifty galleys (constituted by the improbable donation of galleys to the republic by the various *asentistas de galeras*) to be used to "establish a glorious state"; such a fleet would not only retake Corsica but also "ensure our commerce, which is our life," and provide "honest work . . . to our youth."[26]

Neither Foglietta's prophecies of imminent doom nor his optimistic vision of a well-armed republic was destined to come true. Shortly after he wrote *Della Repubblica di Genova*, the Habsburg-Valois wars came to a close, and Corsica once again fell under Genoese control. Practically the only element of Foglietta's proposals that was enacted was the creation of "a particular office" charged with maintaining the galleys owned by the republic. While it has been suggested that the formation of the Magistrato delle galere was a political victory for the *nuovi*,[27] the extent of that victory remains to be demonstrated. The four galleys that made up the public squadron at the moment of the magistracy's foundation were already in the republic's possession and had been in its service during the fighting in Corsica.[28] Nor were these vessels the only ones available to the republic; within weeks after fighting had broken out in August 1553, sixteen brigantines were sent from Genoa to support the republic's forces on the island.[29] This sort of public armament was not without recent precedent either. Apart from the galleys built and burned in 1529–30,[30] the republic had maintained gal-

leys for its own defense prior to its shift to the imperial Spanish alliance; six galleys and six brigantines were in service in 1507, and nine galleys during the French siege of the city in 1527.[31] A modest number of galleys (three) had also been armed at public expense for Charles V's Tunis campaign. Again, in 1539, the republic had armed two ships to intercept grain shipments during that famine year.[32]

Essentially, though, in 1559 as in 1539 and long before, the bulk of the Genoese presence at sea was represented by privately owned ships and the republic's defense was based on its ability to requisition or hire those ships in times of need. That this traditional system of providing for a military presence at sea had reached its logical limits had become apparent during the war in Corsica. Apart from Uberto Foglietta's polemical treatise, Giovanni Recco, a new noble writing in the early 1570s,[33] mentions that already during the first year of campaigning "money was being spent at a great loss to the community as a whole." This was because those who had an economic interest in keeping the war going (that is, the *asentistas de galeras*) were able to make sure that "the war dragged on for a long time and that they be paid each month."[34]

Already in 1554, after the first year of fighting, much talk was made in the Maggior Consiglio of arming galleys at the public expense. Ansaldo Giustiniani, *nobile nuovo*, declared that "without galleys the republic cannot be preserved, nor can the dignity of the Genoese be defended, nor can we make obedient subjects of our enemies. Hence I deem it necessary to arm between 50 and 80 galleys."[35] Giustiniani concluded that there should be no fear of the expense either, comparing the undertaking with the extension of the city's walls built only a few years earlier, a project completed in 1553. The Maggior Consiglio passed Giustiniani's motion 271 votes to 64 and entrusted the task of finding the necessary means of financing the project to the doge and the Colleges.[36] In spite of the ample margin of votes in favor of the proposal, suggesting that voting did not follow factional lines, the doge and the Colleges were either unable or unwilling to find the necessary funding.[37] A paper fleet was launched that had little resemblance to the republic's actual forces. This fleet of rhetorical ships was to remain a constant feature of the republic's political life for more that a century; its composition and purpose was to change with the times; it sometimes comprised galleys, sometimes galleons, was often destined to the defense of the republic's freedom, and was sometimes a school for young nobles and for sailors, but very rarely was it related to the material ships that weighed anchor in port and plied the seas. Thus the Magistrato delle galere and its four galleys repre-

sented a small victory indeed for the *nuovi*, if victory we can call it. The war in Corsica had ended, and the raison d'être of the new magistracy far from coincided with that of the galleys proposed by Ansaldo Giustiniani and envisioned by Uberto Foglietta.

The official motivation for the creation of the Magistrato delle galere had been to protect the Ligurian littoral and Genoese shipping from Turkish pirates.[38] It would seem difficult to attribute a greater role or a greater political significance to a squadron of merely four vessels. With the end of the war and the establishment of peace between France and Spain, the deployment of forces in the Mediterranean must have appeared paradoxically unclear. The only overt enemies were the Ottoman and Barbary "enemies of the faith," and, as a consequence, the continued willingness on the part of the Spanish to underwrite the protection of Genoese waters and to maintain the Doria fleet in the republic's principal port may have been doubted, especially after Andrea Doria's death in November 1560. Although the republic's four galleys could provide a minimal degree of protection, they could not replace the privately owned vessels. The novelty of the new office did not lie in an affirmation of public over private or in a move toward independence from Spanish protection, but simply in guaranteeing the republic a very bare minimum of presence on the sea in a moment of uncertainty.

From the Spanish point of view the issue was clear; an elderly Andrea Doria had secretly offered to hand the republic over to Philip II in January 1559, but the Spanish ambassador in Genoa, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, deemed intervention unnecessary. For the ambassador the key to the protection of Spanish interests "was represented by command of the galleys,"[39] the galleys of the *vecchi* that continued to serve the Spanish crown.

The Public Squadron Prior to 1575: A Very Low Profile

In August 1564 an unforeseen storm and a rocky Corsican coast conspired to reduce the size of the Genoese fleet from four galleys to two. The Senate immediately ordered the armament of another galley to replace the two destroyed ones,[40] but the dimensions of the public squadron would be fixed for nearly twenty years; not until 1583 would the republic again have a fourth galley, and not until 1586 would it have more than that small number. The financial support afforded the Magistrato delle galere reflects the same lack of decision on

the part of the city's rulers to maintain a substantial military presence at sea, at least under the republic's own standard. Not until a month after the office's creation was any income at all assigned to maintaining the galleys, and then only the freight charges that the galleys themselves could earn, together with a contribution from the communities of the *riviere* for two-thirds of the cost of maintaining a single galley. On March 30, 1560, a proposal was even passed to raise the number of galleys to six but with little additional funding; the *riviere* and San Giorgio were to fund entirely one galley each with the proceeds from one *gabella* assigned to the squadron's maintenance.[41] Significantly enough, a property tax aimed at raising 20,000 lire per annum for four years, the only measure proposed that would have borne exclusively on the city's plutocrats, was voted down. A year and a half later the magistracy received its first regular funding, 20,000 lire *de paghe* (approximately 15,000 lire *corrente*, money of account) assigned from the *rivagrossa*, the city's principal customs duty, and the income from two *gabelle*. An "armament rights" of one-quarter of 1 percent on all goods (except foodstuffs) passing through the city by land and by sea was voted as well.[42] The assignment of a tax on fish consumption to the galleys in 1563 and a 1573 tax of three denari on every pack mule carrying goods to and from the city, completes the picture of the office's regular income prior to the crisis of 1575.[43]

Rebellion broke out again in Corsica in 1563. This time the rebels were able to obtain the diplomatic support of France, Turkey, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, but not the open military support of a decade earlier. At any rate, until the rebellion was finally put down in 1569, the state galleys were used to transport troops and patrol the waters around the island. During those same years the republic's galleys also participated with the Spanish fleet in the most important campaigns against the Ottomans: in May 1564 all four galleys accompanied the Spanish on the Algiers campaign; in 1565 the republic's three galleys accompanied the fleet sent to raise the siege of Malta, and in 1571 they took part in the campaign culminating in the battle of Lepanto. Genoa's galleys again took part in anticorsair actions with the Spanish in the years immediately following Lepanto.[44] Although the galley in the late sixteenth century was a very specialized war machine, and despite the ships' participation in the campaigns just mentioned, the public galleys of the Republic of Genoa were used primarily for nonmilitary purposes. Vilma Borghesi has calculated that of the 338 missions made by the republican galleys between 1559 and 1607, 250 were for the transport of

personnel, diplomats, and eminent persons, not necessarily on official state affairs. During the same period the galleys left the port 92 times to aid damaged or endangered ships and only 88 times on missions of a military nature, including the transport of troops.[45]

When compared with the 350,000 lire a year that the renewed fighting in Corsica was draining from the state coffers,[46] the amount of money being spent on the maintenance of the galleys could seem quite limited. In 1568 the Magistrato delle galere was spending 65,000 to 70,000 lire annually. Its regular income, though, was only 35,000 lire,[47] of which only approximately 7,200 came from freight charges on the transport of raw silk from Messina[48] (compared with 7,600 scudi in 1560).[49] The operating deficit could only be filled through extraordinary financing from the Casa di San Giorgio or money taken on loan *sopra cambi*, on bills of exchange floated from one exchange fair to the next and accumulating interest.[50] No matter which solution was adopted, more members of the ruling class were becoming dissatisfied with the management of the state fleet, as witnessed by the number of proposals to increase both the size of the state squadron and its financial support.

In the first decade of the Magistrato delle galere's existence, it became clear that Genoa's small squadron of galleys had nothing to do with the fleet hoped for by Uberto Foglietta and Ansaldo Giustiniani. The war in Corsica had begun again, which created roughly the same situation as before. The state was spending large amounts of money, and the *signori di galere*, the private galley owners, were profiting as a result. Even the state galleys, far from redeeming the republic from private interests and subservience to the Spanish, had become yet another piece in the very political and economic machinery denounced by Foglietta in 1559. The galleys carried members of the nobility and their families, even Gian Andrea Doria, up and down the *riviere* at public expense[51] and, pressured by the Spanish court, contributed to that country's efforts for hegemony in the Mediterranean. The existence of the squadron had even opened a further channel for the pursuit of personal gain. Shareholders of San Giorgio or financiers operating at the fairs stood to gain from the magistracy's endemic deficit, and in both cases these represented members of the wealthier layers of society, not the masses hardest hit by the republic's taxation—taxation that in turn served to pay interest to the shareholders of San Giorgio. Finally, resentment was even borne against the fortunes accumulated by the brothers Agostino and Francesco Lomellini, *nobili vecchi*, who provided the galley crews with ship's biscuit, the cornerstone of the early modern mariner's diet.[52]

Converging Interests and Internal Rivalry

In March 15, 1575, an armed uprising occurred in Genoa. The tensions leading up to the outbreak of violence were essentially political but had strong economic overtones. A contemporary dialogue, however, emphasizes their political nature and cautions against a propagandistic interpretation of the tensions. Comparing the rift between *nobili nuovi* and *nobili vecchi* to the religious wars in France, the dialogue's author clearly states the political origin of the clash: "Don't imagine that . . . it is religious zeal or a desire for the common good . . . because these are simply trinkets for decorating the party."[53] The principal points of conflict according to the author were those put forth by Foglietta in 1559 with some variation of emphasis; Andrea Doria could no longer be pointed to as a threat to the republic's independence, and the difference in wealth between the two factions of old and new nobility had grown even greater through the years of financial activity with the Spanish crown.

In the long run the limits on access to political power established by the 1547 reform were to prove pernicious. The *garibetto* ensured equal representation of the old and new nobles at the highest levels of the city's government and in the most important magistracies, thus perpetuating the distinction between the two factions. Given their numerical superiority though,[54] the *nuovi* were proportionately underrepresented as a group and, as a result, assumed a hostile attitude en bloc toward the *vecchi*. Whatever their positions on other matters, all members of the new nobility shared the reduced possibilities of entering the government compared with their counterparts in the opposing faction. A great deal of propaganda criticized the old nobility in general and demanded a greater role for the new nobility and a return to what the *nuovi* claimed had been the spirit of the 1528 reforms. Among the attributes of the old nobility attacked most vehemently by the *nuovi* were an attitude of presumed superiority and the desire to perpetuate the distinction between *vecchi* and *nuovi*.[55] Also, excessive profits continued to be made through loans to the king of Spain,[56] an activity that was seen by the *nuovi* as undermining Genoese commerce by draining the capital necessary for trade into the less productive field of finance.

The promotion of private interests to the detriment of the public good was seen as a consequence of such financial activities. For the new nobility, made up predominantly of merchants and wealthy artisans, the two things went hand in hand; profits from the Spanish *asientos* went primarily into the pockets of a restricted group of financiers without directly favoring trade and industry. Gio-

vanni Recco nostalgically recalls that prior to the war in Corsica "with more than one hundred merchant ships [the Genoese] carried on their commerce,"[57] implicitly lamenting a subsequent decline. Recco's estimate does not, in fact, seem far from the truth. In his reconstruction of the size of the Genoese merchant fleet, Edoardo Grendi counts ninety ships in 1548 with a total carrying capacity of 437,500 cantari and ninety-one ships in 1556–58 with a capacity of 602,000 cantari. Between those dates and the mid-1570s the levels of port traffic declined as did the proportion of that traffic carried in Genoese ships. By the 1590s the merchant fleet was less than half its size at midcentury.[58]

The other activity of the *vecchi* criticized sharply was that of *asentista de galeras.* Little had changed since the 1550s when the first attempts were made to counterbalance the military strength of Andrea Doria. In the meantime, though, a new and more coherent policy had been taking form within the ranks of the *nuovi* that juxtaposed the promotion of silk manufacture and the enlargement of the public galley fleet, creating a broad area of consensus among the artisans and the merchants of the new nobility. The fate of the Arte della Seta, the silk manufacturers guild, the largest and most important of the city's guilds,[59] came to be identified with the aspirations of the *nuovi* and with projects for public armament, as tension crystallized around the guild in the period immediately preceding armed conflict. As early as August 1559, the republic had assigned the income generated from the transport of raw silk to the Magistrato delle galere for the maintenance of the galleys. Except on rare occasions the galleys made an annual voyage, on behalf of private merchants, from Messina to Livorno (Leghorn) and Genoa carrying raw silk from Sicily.[60] During the debates of the 1560s over how to prosecute the war in Corsica, an alternative fiscal policy favoring silk manufacture emerged in tandem with projects for public armament; the opponents of such a policy were, naturally, members of old noble families involved in the Spanish *asientos.* The polemical treatise *Sogno sopra la Republica di Genova veduto nella morte di Agostino Pinello* of 1567[61] and the archival records of the debates[62] provide a map of the positions.

In the first series of debates held in 1565 and 1566, the proposed means of finding money to maintain the galleys were all quite traditional: increasing already existing taxes here and there with a definite preference for taxes on the *dominio*, the subject territories.[63] Two distinct lines emerge though; Leonardo Spinola, *nobile vecchio* and exponent of a family of galley owners and financiers very heavily involved in Spanish affairs, suggested taxing "all sorts of silk, and woolen cloths,"[64] while Lorenzo Capellone, *nobile nuovo*, stated that taxation in

the city has already reached its supportable limits and that new forms of income must be found.[65] The two lines emerged even more clearly over the course of the next two years as the war in Corsica dragged on. When the finance package was put before the Maggior Consiglio for approval, Melchior and Thomaso Doria spoke out openly against any increase in the number of public galleys, while Nicola Spinola suggested appealing to Philip II for financial help in renting the galleys currently in the service of Spain. In other words, Philip II would be asked to loan money, presumably provided (at interest) by financiers like the Spinola, so the republic could rent the galleys (previously hired out to the crown) owned by the Spinola and the Doria among others, thus multiplying the profits of the *asentistas*.[66] With the *Sogno sopra la Republica di Genova* of 1567, the position of those in favor of public armament becomes clear. The treatise proposes a different fiscal orientation for the republic based on silk manufacture and the armament of galleys. As Rodolfo Savelli points out, though, "in order for the transport of the raw material from the South to become a significant entry in the galley maintenance books, silk manufacturing in Genoa had to be growing and given fiscal incentives (which did not happen, or at least not to the desired degree)."[67] On the contrary, as we have seen, the amounts of silk transported in the public galleys was actually in decline. To make the position perfectly clear, the *Sogno sopra la Republica di Genova* continues, claiming that "silk manufacture causes no harm to Genoa, in fact it is more beneficial than the usurers who wait for the chance to usurp the taxes on consumption in order to live off those who manufacture silk."[68] The reference is to those wealthy citizens who profited from the republic's fiscal system and its relationship to the Casa di San Giorgio.[69] It comes as no surprise then that one of the council members who sought the greatest increase in the number of galleys in 1567 should be a member of the Arte della Seta, Stefano Recco, who proposed the armament of twelve galleys,[70] or that the Minor Consiglio did not approve the proposal. As a later pro-*nuovi* dialogue points out, not without some exaggeration, "more often than not there were eighty of those called old nobles, and the other twenty were good shepherds."[71] While the council debated increasing the number of galleys in service from three to six (a decision already voted in 1560, but not to be enacted for another nineteen years), the majority resolved that "for now we keep the [present] three, and if we cannot maintain them, we keep only two armed."[72]

Thus for the new nobility the question of increasing the number of galleys in the publicly owned squadron had been linked to the idea of encouraging silk production through fiscal incentives. The need to import raw silk would in-

crease with Genoa's output of finished cloths, and the increase in imports would provide increased income for the state galleys that carried the raw material to the city from Sicily. At the same time the silk producers' guild had become the point of convergence for those opposed to the old nobility. As for the *vecchi*, they opposed both increasing the fleet of galleys and giving incentives for silk production. Their opposition to an enlarged fleet can be explained by the desire not to dilute their own prestige and influence, which derived from ownership and operation of private galleys. Opposition to fiscal incentives for silk manufacture stemmed either from political maneuvers to thwart the plans of the *nuovi*, or simply in order to avoid creating a precedent for changing the state's fiscal structure.

Another constant element in the growing tension between factions, as the preceding debate makes clear, was the involvement of the old nobility in Spanish finances. Although the *nuovi* claimed that this activity inevitably led the *vecchi* to place their own interests above those of the republic, they seemed jealous of the old nobility's monopoly. In fact, while the new nobility's propaganda was condemning Genoese involvement in Spanish finances, many of the *nuovi* were trying to get in on the profits. On the eve of the Spanish suspension of payments in September 1575 the Genoese were creditors to the crown for at least 13 million ducats, estimated at roughly 40 percent of the wealth of *all* the Genoese nobility.[73] Although only ten *asentistas* were active at the court in Madrid between 1565 and 1575,[74] a vast credit network dominated by the old nobility directed finances to the crown.

If the new nobles wanted to get involved in this activity, they had to do so on the terms of the *vecchi*. Acting as intermediaries, the *vecchi* took money from the *nuovi* and rich bourgeois to be invested in *juros.* This money was then employed in *asientos* guaranteed by *juros*, which were passed on to the investors, while the intermediary received the higher interest on the *asientos* without risking his own capital.[75] The financier, of course, had to buy the *juros* back upon repayment of the *asiento*, but in the seven years prior to the civil war the *juros*, which nominally carried an interest of 5 to 10 percent,[76] were devalued by 45 to 50 percent, allowing the intermediaries (who in the meantime received profits of 25 to 30 percent on the *asientos*) to buy back the *juros* at a fraction of their original face value.[77] Even given the beating taken by many of the new nobles between 1567 and 1575, contemporaries estimated that the *nuovi* were creditors to the *vecchi* for 500,000 to 800,000 scudi in the spring of 1575.[78] Again in 1574 a wave of pamphlets criticized this activity, proposing commerce and the armament of

galleys as an alternative; the warning was that Spain was overburdened with debts and that wealth generated from strictly financial activities was bound to remain simply "painted in the books."

As the rivalry between the old and new nobilities heated up during the 1560s and early 1570s, the silk manufacturers' guild grew rapidly. Of the 339 members of the Arte della Seta who joined the guild between 1566 and 1575 (approximately 25 percent of whom were nobles), 193 joined in 1573.[79] As tensions rose, the guild apparently became the meeting point for the *nobili nuovi* and the nonnobles opposed to the existing order. In fact, when the *nuovi* staged their coup on March 15, 1575, it was done with the support of the shopkeepers and common laborers of the silk industry, armed and organized by the new nobility.[80]

The very day of the insurrection, with the majority of the old nobles driven out of the city, the first move of the *nuovi* was to abolish the *garibetto*.[81] Their principal political objective reached, the new nobles were now challenged on two fronts: by a military force in the countryside, where the old nobility was recruiting troops to regain its position in the city,[82] and by their commoner allies within the city. The commoners in turn had two demands: entry into the nobility for the wealthiest and most influential, and a reduction of fiscal pressure for the artisans and the poor. On May 27 the *gabella della pinta* was repealed.[83] A tax on the sale of wine by the pint, the *gabella* had been a burden exclusively on the lower strata of society, those unable to buy wine in larger quantities. Not having found alternative forms of income, in July the *nuovi* passed a 0.5 percent tax on net wealth for patrimonies of more than 1,000 lire, one-third of which was to go to the armament of galleys.[84] An analogous tax was voted on September 19, and limits were placed on the prices of meat and wine.[85] The *nuovi* who had taken control of the city continued to drag their feet, however, on the question of allowing new members into the nobility, a move that would have diluted their own power. During the negotiations that immediately preceded the uprising of March 15, the commoners had presented a request to have 300 new members accepted into the nobility. The request was accepted, but through "artifice it was held back by the *nuovi*, so that nothing was done."[86] In like manner, on the day of the insurrection the *vecchi* provocatively offered to hand the government of the city over to the commoners, excluding both *vecchi* and *nuovi* from power, but "the *nuovi* would hear nothing of it."[87] In spite of the moves to satisfy the poor and the willingness to finance naval armament from their own fortunes, it was precisely the new nobles' reluctance to open the ranks of the oligarchy that made reconciliation with the *nobili vecchi* inevitable.

In April 1575 Pope Gregory XIII sent Cardinal Giovanni Morone as a mediator charged with establishing a truce between the two belligerent factions. During negotiations at Casale in Monferrat in 1576, although the question of naval rearmament had been among the initial points presented to Cardinal Morone,[88] this issue became entirely marginal as bargains were struck over the nature of the future regime. Proposals and counterproposals focused on the division of power and the alleviation of political tension within the ruling class. In the end, the aspirations of the commoners were almost entirely neglected. The Leges Novae, the 1576 constitution produced through the negotiations at Casale, guaranteed equal representation for the old and new nobility while leaving the door open to a different equilibrium in the future. The mechanisms for filling the republic's councils were elaborated around a Minor Consiglio of roughly 100 members chosen during the negotiations, half of them *nuovi* and half *vecchi.* Each year the Minor Consiglio was to elect 30 electors who in turn nominated the members for both the Minor and Maggior Consigli for the following year, while the Collegi, the republic's executive body, were to be chosen every two years through a random drawing from 120 candidates (again chosen at the Casale negotiations). In order to avoid pressure from below, a provision allowed for the annual acceptance of up to 10 aspirants into the nobility, and 97 new members were accepted in an extraordinary *ascrizione* in 1576. This last move, however, did not represent a victory for the wealthy commoners; only 13 new family names were present, the rest representing the co-optation of relatives of families already present in the ruling class.[89]

Another aspect of the Leges Novae that was to contribute to the blurring of factional division running vertically through the ruling class was the final definition of the occupations forbidden to the nobility. The 1528 reforms had placed a limiting clause on access to the nobility, prohibiting the practice of "mechanical arts" without defining exactly which arts were mechanical. Subsequently the clause became a rhetorical weapon for anyone wishing to discredit the legitimacy of his opponent, taken up most often by the *vecchi* against their *nuovi* counterparts active in the manufacturing trades. In 1576 the lines were drawn clearly; the powerful silk merchants (as long as they did not live in their shops) and galley captains were approved.[90]

On a final note, perhaps the most important factor in the unification of Genoa's ruling class was an event that at the time could hardly have seemed beneficial. In September 1575 Philip II of Spain suspended payment on the debts of the Spanish crown, hitting the old nobility of Genoa particularly hard at a mo-

ment when it was in no position to react.[91] Indeed, ignoring the ongoing debate over financial matters in the Spanish Cortes, the Genoese felt they were being punished for the disturbances caused by their civil war[92] (there may have been some element of truth in this; the *vecchi*'s threat not to pay at the June 1575 fairs in order to convince Philip to support them cannot have been seen with much favor at court).[93] In the wake of the renegotiation of Philip II's debts, the *medio general* of 1578, the type of financial support given to the crown changed and a number of the Genoese *asentistas* became *factores cambistas.* Greater emphasis was placed on the massive deals to transfer capital across Europe on behalf of the crown in order to finance the Spanish war effort in the Low Countries, rather than concentrating solely on anticipating cash. In this system, revolving around control of the dominant exchange fairs at Piacenza—under complete control of the Genoese Senate, the fairs were a clearinghouse for the transfer of capital across Europe—the *nuovi* active at the fairs could assume a more direct and lucrative role in the financial activities formerly held solely by the *vecchi.*[94] By the end of the century a number of new nobles were even active as *asentistas* at court.[95] Through the recognition of a common political identity by default and the possibility of a convergence of economic interests, the tensions that had led to open warfare among the members of Genoa's ruling class had given way to a willingness to at least tolerate one another.

The years following the civil war were not, of course, exempt from conflict within the ruling patriciate.[96] With the establishment of clear rules for coexistence, though, the way lay open for new divisions to occur or, rather, for latent rivalries to become manifest. Once open conflict between the two principal blocs of the nobility had been overcome, the internal cohesion of the factions immediately became less impelling. In the *vecchi* camp, corporate identity gave way to the clash of individual ambitions involving a shift of emphasis from the faction to the clientele structure of the most powerful figures, groupings often identified with the principal *casate* or extended families. On the other hand, the fragile equilibrium between artisan-manufacturers and merchants within the new nobility also showed signs of stress. As with the rivalries between the major houses of the old nobility, conflict between these two groups had been subordinated to the greater *vecchi-nuovi* clash. With the elimination of the cause of that subordination, tension grew as the economic importance of the guilds diminished in comparison with strictly financial activities. At the same time a new power structure was emerging; the state began to share some of the same functions as the clientele systems in commanding the allegiance of a growing

number of patricians, thus becoming a rival to the great households but also absorbing a number of them.

In the wake of the turbulence of 1575–76, at first glance the republic's maritime policy does not seem to have undergone any great transformation. A profound change, however, had taken place. During the fighting the republic's three galleys, controlled by the *nuovi*, did not even try to engage the twenty-two galleys under the command of Gian Andrea Doria. Thirty thousand lire was even assigned for building a fourth vessel, but nothing was done, and the money was returned to the Casa di San Giorgio.[97] The ships of the *asentistas de galeras*, employed with the permission of Philip II, had been decisive for the old nobles' cause; the author of a 1597 *relatione* even attributes all of the *vecchi*'s military successes during the conflict to Gian Andrea Doria.[98] Following the agreement of Casale and the compromises made on both sides, public armament was no longer identified with an alternative fiscal policy nor was it championed by a distinct faction for reasons of domestic political logic. Although public armament had always been presented in the pro-*nuovi* writings of the 1560s and early 1570s in terms of an elevation of the public sphere over the private, the attitude of the same new nobles toward the nonnoble elements of Genoese society during the crisis of 1575–76 demonstrated that their idea about the role of the "state" concerned only their own faction within the ruling class. Now the galleys of the republic were identified with the republic itself, both by the Genoese who dedicated themselves to their state and by those who for one reason or another found themselves opposed to the Republic of Genoa's affirmation as an autonomous political unit on an international scale. The move in 1585 finally to arm six galleys as decreed in 1560 responded to a completely different set of objectives than those envisioned by the proponents of such an increase at the time.

The *asentistas de galeras* and the Genoese citizens who, as such, recognized the supremacy of Gian Andrea Doria, Prince of Melfi, continued to oppose the public galleys, not as the representatives of a rival faction, but as the manifestation of a rival system of power on both local and international levels. Doria himself was no longer the head of the old nobility as he had been in 1575–76; the pretensions of the prince were contested as much by other *vecchi* as by exponents of the new nobility. In his annals of Genoa, Antonio Roccatagliata mentions that by 1585 Doria's behavior had made him disagreeable to all.[99] He had, for example, come into conflict with the powerful Lomellini family, and in the last years of the sixteenth century a strong rivalry was to grow between Doria and Marquis Ambrogio Spinola as heads of similar and rival clientele systems under the

aegis of the Spanish crown. The Lomellini held the island of Tabarka under a peculiar arrangement with the Spanish crown,[100] and when the governor of the island, Carlo Spinola, condemned a certain number of criminals to service in the galleys, Filippo Lomellini consigned them to the republic to be placed in the public galleys. Doria claimed that they should have been handed over to him instead. On the grounds that Tabarka was a Spanish possession and that he was general of the Spanish Mediterranean fleet, he claimed that the prisoners should have been placed on his galleys.[101] The Spanish ambassador appealed formally to the Senate on Doria's behalf. The example is telling of the new deployment of forces: Doria, acting on his own behalf (convicts at the oars represented a considerable savings over the purchase of slaves) and in the name of the Spanish king, comes into conflict with Lomellini (a *nobile vecchio* at the head of a similar pyramid of allegiance) and with the Republic of Genoa (in this case represented by the public galleys—not at all a chance interlocutor). The Senate acted as it usually did in situations that contrasted the republic's and Spanish interests; it refused to take up the matter, leaving the convicts on the galleys of the state.

Spaniards, Corsairs, and Famine in the Late Sixteenth Century

The 1570s, of course, had not been a momentous time solely for the Republic of Genoa. The decade had witnessed the culmination of naval conflict between Spain and the Ottoman Empire for supremacy in the Mediterranean. The struggle had led to a Spanish naval buildup covering the first fifteen years of Philip II's reign and a near total polarization of Mediterranean sea power in the Lepanto campaign of 1571. The Ottoman fleet was almost completely destroyed in that battle, but Turkish sea power was far from broken, as Turks were able to launch a large fleet again only one year later. Moreover, the strength of the Ottomans' Barbary allies remained largely intact. Lepanto did, however, leave a lasting mark on the military balance in the Mediterranean Sea; with the death or capture of experienced Turkish manpower on such a large scale, Ottoman initiative had been broken.[102] The Spanish too had had to bear an enormous cost, but in monetary terms. The cost of maintaining the growing galley fleet had contributed considerably to royal insolvency in 1575. In the spring of 1574 the Junta de Galeras proposed contracting out the management of the 146 royally owned galleys as being economically more efficient, thus privileging the

economy of the *asiento* over the direct control offered by state administration of the fleet. By January 1575 30 of the king's galleys had been disarmed, and in December 1576 Philip II made the decision to cut the galley fleet back to only 100 vessels and to assume a purely defensive stance.[103]

As both sides shied away from an aggressive policy, the trend toward an ever-greater polarization was reversed. Furthermore, the partial demobilization of the two fleets led to heightened levels of piracy and an increase in the number of corsair vessels active in the Mediterranean.[104] Especially but not exclusively in the North African kingdoms, restless satellites of the Ottoman Empire, many ships' captains compensated for the loss of regular employment provided by the greater fleet through an increase in piracy. For centuries this phenomenon was typical in times of "peace" in the Mediterranean. The Spanish fleet, on the other hand, was no longer in any condition to challenge corsairs. Owed more than forty months' backpay, Spanish galley crews mutinied in 1578, and in 1584, chronically undermanned and in bad repair, the Spanish squadron did not even put to sea before the end of August.[105]

Earlier that summer, on July 1, 1584, twenty-two Algerian galleys had attacked the town of Sori on the Ligurian coast only eight miles from Genoa. They sacked the town and carried off 100 men and women as slaves, losing only 4 men during the fight.[106] Adding to the injury, the Algerians also captured a Genoese ship as they were leaving the waters before Sori. As soon as the news reached Genoa, the galleys of the republic and those under the command of Gian Andrea Doria left the port in pursuit of the corsairs. The chase was soon given up, though, as they found themselves outnumbered and "especially since they had four million in gold [on board Doria's galleys] that had not yet been unloaded."[107] Roccatagliata adds that, when Doria left with his galleys at the end of the summer to go to Spain, the Genoese were terrified of new corsair attacks, to the point that in the suburban areas around the city men would often "run away for no real reason."[108] After twenty-five years of a standing public squadron of galleys, the people of Genoa still looked to Doria for the city's protection on its seaward side. Whether the galleys in the service of Spain had ever provided effective protection for the Ligurian coast and Genoese shipping was not the question; in the past loyalties of faction had led to the acceptance of divergences between the necessities of the Spanish crown and those of the Republic of Genoa. By the 1580s, however, factional identity had lost its primacy and the incompatibility between the roles carried out by Doria's fleet and the necessities of the republic's citizens had become painfully apparent. Even for the

transport of bullion some patricians had preferred the republic's galleys as early as 1570,[109] and the long absences of Doria's squadron from Genoa while on mission for the Spanish left shipping and the coasts exposed to marauders.

Thus, in the wake of the attack on Sori, a first timid move was made to improve the conditions of the public squadron.[110] It is worth having a look at the language of the 1584 proposal. The first priority is that of defending the coast and Corsica from the "incursions and depredations of the infidel corsairs" and the second to protect shipping bringing "all sorts of foodstuffs" to the city and subject territories. Only after having stated the need to protect the state and its

IOAN. ANDREAS DORIA. DNS. MALFITANVS. AV
CONS. SACR. S. CATHOLICHE REG. M. ET. CLASSIS IPSIVS IMPERATOR SVMMVS
Esſ hic IOANNES ANDREAS AVRIA, patri
Nepтuno ſimilis, munere, mente, manu.

Giovanni Andrea Doria. (Photo courtesy of Musei Civici, Genova; Archivio Fotografico del Comune di Genova.)

food supply is an appeal made to "raising the opinion and respect that neighboring princes have of our republic" and the ritual mention of the city's past maritime glories.[111] The rhetoric of the prewar propaganda had been inverted; the appeal to patriotic nostalgia and the republic's reputation among foreign powers (and it is not difficult to imagine whom the proposal's author had in mind) was subordinated to the more practical end of guaranteeing the city's defense and its food supply. Again, in contrast with the nature of previous proposals as declarations of partisan positions, the author suggests the reimposition of the tax on fish consumption, specifying that such a measure would be of "no damage to private [citizens]."[112] Finally, the author of the proposal concludes with a metaphor that significantly puts armament and the food supply on the same plane—"[it] being . . . true that naval forces are no less necessary to the republic than food for sustaining life."[113] Over the course of the following twenty years these two themes, the republic's ability to project itself on the sea and its ability to provide sustenance for its population, were first to come into sharp contrast, only to become intertwined later as the state sought a coherent solution to a series of problems ranging from questions of sovereignty to starvation.

On June 25 of the following year, Francesco Grimaldi was elected general of Genoa's squadron of four galleys for a period of two years. Grimaldi, a *nobile vecchio* from one of the old nobility's four principal houses, was to prove a key figure in the emergence of the public galley fleet as a symbol of the republic's autonomy from both the Spanish crown and the city's own eminent figures. Grimaldi's first success came in October 1585 when he surprised six Turkish galleys off the coast of Corsica and captured one, a large galliot with twenty-two benches of oarsmen.[114] Discussions were already underway concerning the reintroduction of the *gabelle* on fish in order to increase the size of the squadron to six vessels, but within a week enthusiasm for Grimaldi's success led the Senate to unanimously approve construction of two more galleys.[115] On November 20, 1585, the republic's fifth galley was launched and the sixth in early 1586.[116] Grimaldi's star was only beginning to rise, though. In October of 1586 his squadron captured another Turkish galliot, this time a small one with only seven benches of oarsmen.[117] A year later, on patrol with the six Genoese galleys and four Florentine galleys, another large Turkish galliot and a Moorish merchantman were captured and 120 Christian slaves were freed. Grimaldi's term of office ended with his return to port on July 7, 1587, "with immortal glory and the envy of many."[118] One week later, when a new general was to be elected, Grimaldi received seventy-four votes in the Minor Consiglio; no other candi-

date received even one.[119] The following day, along with the usual requests for provisions to prepare the squadron for the trip to Messina, a new set of rules concerning galley captains was presented by the Magistrato delle galere.[120] The new *ordini* had two objectives: to ensure the existence of a pool of experienced galley captains and to counterpoise the private galleys by the state squadron as a pole of allegiance for career officers. The rules called for the assignment of two to three young nobles to each of the republic's galleys, with double rations and a stipend of five gold scudi a month, to accompany the galleys on all their missions. Within five years, by 1592, only nobles with at least three years of such experience (or six years on a private galley) were to be eligible to become captain.

Although Grimaldi's successes had led to widespread pride and enthusiasm, they achieved little against one of the public squadron's long-term adversaries, namely its tight budget. In spite of increased finances assigned to the galleys in 1584 and 1585, by June 1587 the Office of the Galleys was again running a considerable deficit. While income from the transport of silk had increased unsteadily[121] and the *magistrato* now had an annual income of roughly 80,000 lire, the costs of maintaining the galleys had risen to around 120,000 lire per annum. In order to meet the increased expenses, taxation on the city and the *riviere* was raised and new taxes were levied on the milling of flour and on playing cards.[122]

Francesco Grimaldi's adventures for the year 1587 had not yet come to an end, though, nor had the series of events that had drawn public attention and support to the republic's modest squadron of galleys. In December 1587 two of the republic's galleys under Grimaldi's command were returning from Spain with a cargo of gold and silver worth 300,000 scudi when a storm pushed them off course and forced them to take refuge in Sardinia. When news of this reached Genoa, Gian Andrea Doria and his followers seized the opportunity to launch a violent campaign against Grimaldi, claiming the galleys' misadventure was to be blamed on the general's incompetence. Returning from Sardinia, though, Grimaldi was informed that there were several Barbary galleys in Corsican waters and, with his two galleys and two smaller ships, gave chase to eight corsair vessels, capturing seven of them.[123] In the meantime news reached Genoa that three galleys of Doria's fleet, under the command of Giannettino Spinola, had been wrecked off the coast of Majorca while giving chase to a group of Turkish vessels.[124] Over the course of merely a few days, the prestige of the one squadron rose enormously and that of the other suffered a serious blow.

For reasons of age and failing health, Grimaldi tried to resign his position as

general of the galleys but instead was elected *commissario* for the sole voyage to Sicily and *commissario* again for a year beginning in July 1589.[125] Given the considerable increase in the prestige and enthusiasm for the public galleys, in September 1588 yet another increase in the size of the squadron was voted; this time a tax of one-sixth of 1 percent on wealth was passed to finance defense spending in general and the construction of fourteen galleys.[126]

As the republic's state-owned squadron of galleys grew in prestige, its existence tended to impinge on the capacity of other squadrons or naval commanders to generate prestige and power. We have already seen, in fact, the growing sense of rivalry between the public squadron and that of the Doria, but broadening our scope we can see that there were more Genoese playing the same game than one might at first suppose. Indeed, by the 1590s Genoese control over the naval forces of the Mediterranean rivaled Genoese control over Spanish finances. Apart from the small squadron of the Republic of Genoa, the Spanish Mediterranean fleet, including the galleys of Naples and Messina, was under the command of Gian Andrea Doria;[127] in 1588 Cardinal Sauli, archbishop of Genoa, became general of the papal galleys with Orazio Lercaro as lieutenant,[128] and even the Turkish fleet was under the command of a Genoese native, Sinam Bassà, a Muslim convert and son of one of Andrea Doria's captains, Visconte Cigala.[129] In addition to Genoese commanders, Genoese-built galleys were apparently sought after as well. The pope purchased two new galleys from the arsenal in 1587 whose longevity was to be lauded by Bartolomeo Crescenzio twenty years later,[130] and in 1588 the republic sold two of its galleys, one to the Spanish Baron of Mondragon and the other to Odoardo Cigala, after thirteen years in service![131]

The Genoese presence on the sea does not of course correspond to the prestige of the Republic of Genoa, nor can any direct corollary be made between the sum of the influence exercised by Genoese citizens and that of their parent state. In many cases private interests continued to come into sharp conflict with public aspirations, and allegiances were not always directed toward the republic. The most visible case was that of Gian Andrea Doria, Prince of Melfi in the Kingdom of Naples and commander of the Spanish naval forces in the Mediterranean since 1583. Doria admitted quite openly that he owed allegiance to the Spanish crown, referring to the king of Spain as his "natural lord."[132] With the renewed interest in the public squadron of galleys in Genoa, Doria was yet again placed in a position of conflict with the city. In all likelihood Doria owed his position in the Spanish hierarchy to his influence within Genoa and his ability to

guarantee the republic's pro-Spanish stance.[133] At the same time, his influence in Genoa depended greatly on his position in the Spanish hierarchy, the clientele system represented by the galleys, and his ability to introduce financiers at court, not to mention the latent threat of the military forces under his control. Greater emphasis on increased autonomy and especially on a republican galley fleet risked jeopardizing Doria's position both in Genoa and in Madrid. His hostility toward the republic's galleys, and to Francesco Grimaldi in particular, as well as his willingness to support the cause of Spanish sovereignty at the republic's expense, can all be explained in these terms.

The first episode of direct confrontation between Doria and the republic's galleys dates to January 1587 when Grimaldi with two galleys sought refuge in the Spanish-controlled port of Provenere[134] while transporting bullion from Spain to Genoa. Shortly after their arrival, twelve galleys of Doria's squadron under the command of Leonardo Spinola, Doria's lieutenant, entered the port. Grimaldi went to pay his respects to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, who was aboard one of Doria's galleys, and while there he was given a letter from Spinola. The letter expressed that Spinola was "sorry about the salute," but that orders were orders. Grimaldi understood that Spinola was excusing himself for not firing a salute to the republican galleys upon entering the port as was the custom[135] and sent his lieutenant, Orazio Lomellini (all the principal actors, Grimaldi, Spinola, Lomellini, and, of course, Doria, were *nobili vecchi*), to reply that it was not a matter of any great import. Spinola became furious; his orders from Gian Andrea Doria stated that not only was he not to salute the republican galleys, but that he was to obtain the salute from the republican galleys at all costs, an open admission of precedence and therefore submission. Grimaldi replied that he was not willing to prejudice the honor and reputation of the republic, and the galleys, two on one side and twelve on the other, drew up in battle order. A furious round of negotiations followed as Cardinal Colonna was rowed back and forth between the two intransigent Genoese. In the end Grimaldi was allowed to deny the salute but then forced to leave the port immediately on a January night. Grimaldi protested to the Spaniards present on Spinola's galley that should anything happen to the bullion he was transporting on behalf of the king, the fault lay with Spinola. He then left the port and returned to Genoa without having fired the salute.

Upon hearing Grimaldi's account of what had happened, the Senate ordered that Leonardo Spinola be tried by the Rota Criminale, the highest criminal court, for "excess committed against the republic." Philip II wrote to Genoa to

express his displeasure over the case against Spinola, arguing that any action made by one of his officials in one of his ports could be judged only by the king. He added that he was of the opinion that the Genoese galleys should salute those in the service of Spain of their own free will, "to give a good example to others."[136]

On the annual voyage to Sicily later that year a similar incident occurred.[137] The day after the arrival of the Genoese galleys in the port of Messina the Sicilian squadron arrived with orders from Doria to force the Genoese to salute. Grimaldi saw them coming and hurriedly slipped out of the port only to reenter behind them, firing the customary salute to the port upon entry. Not satisfied by such methods, the Spanish galleys threatened the Genoese and demanded a salute fired explicitly to the Sicilian squadron. Once again Grimaldi left the port that same night, once more without having succumbed to Doria's wishes; salutes were not to be fired at night. Grimaldi's star continued to rise, given his proud and intelligent defense of the republic's reputation, but shortly thereafter the Senate, after consulting the Minor Consiglio, dropped the case against Leonardo Spinola and agreed to salute galleys flying the Spanish standard for the duration of one year.[138]

The Spanish requests were presented again a year later, and yet again in 1589 with even more pressing requests: in addition to the salute, the Spanish demanded that the Genoese close the ports of Liguria to English shipping. Both requests were denied.[139] On the annual voyage to Sicily in 1590 the republican galleys were refused entry to the port of Messina, on the orders of Gian Andrea Doria to the Viceroy of Sicily.[140] Further problems arose in 1593. In April of that year a Neapolitan citizen, Scipione da Corte, who had been condemned in Naples, was traveling to Spain in a Genoese ship in order to present his case before the king. The Genoese ship was intercepted in Ligurian waters by none other than Leonardo Spinola and forcibly returned to Naples, where da Corte was imprisoned. Spinola was again formally charged, and the king again thought fit to intervene. Philip II claimed jurisdiction over all waters of the western Mediterranean including the Gulf of Genoa, with the sole exception of the city's port. The Collegi responded that the king's pretensions were unacceptable and an infringement on the republic's freedom, but at the same time the case against Spinola was dropped.[141] A solution to the question of the salute was finally found in 1594 when the Ufficio delle galere ordered that no salutes be fired at all "to save powder,"[142] but the risk of an incident was further reduced with the decision not to send the galleys out *in corso* (in search of corsair vessels) that year.[143]

The complicated question of sovereignty over the sea had not been solved, though, and a solution satisfactory to Genoa seems to have been out of the republic's reach. When the question was brought up again in 1596, during renewed hostilities between France and Spain, the tiny Ligurian state was forced to revise its position. Following Doria's attack on Marseille and the capture of a number of French ships, the French appealed to the Genoese Senate for the return of their ships, merchandise, and captured sailors (whom Doria had chained to the oars). After consulting Gian Andrea Doria, the Senate replied that it "cannot forbid the king of Spain's galleys, even though under the command of Genoese, from causing damage to the French." The Genoese added that they would, however, do everything in their power "so that traffic and commerce should not remain impeded."[144] When the conflict was one between the republic and its ally, even an overbearing one, Genoa could proudly defend its rights, but when the interlocutor was a powerful and hostile state, Spanish claims of jurisdiction over the crown's "officials" were a welcome shield.[145]

In spite of questions of precedence and priority, it remained unclear just what the official Spanish attitude toward the republic's public armament program was. In July 1589 the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Lippomanno stopped briefly in Genoa on his return home from Madrid. In a visit to the Senate he noted that the Spanish were satisfied with Genoese moves to build galleys and to rationalize the cultivation of Corsica.[146] The projects for rearmament were not, however, seen in like terms in Genoa and Madrid. For many in Genoa the public squadron was a guarantee of independence and at least a degree of freedom of action in the republic's defense, whereas in Madrid the Genoese galleys were apparently seen as an auxiliary force to the Spanish fleet. When in 1595 Philip II asked that the Genoese galleys participate in a campaign against the Turks, scandal broke out over the form of the request, written in such a way that "it seemed as though he commanded them freely"; in order to overcome Genoese resistance, Philip had Doria assure the Senate that he would "defend not only the island of Corsica, but all the territories of the republic as though they were [His] Majesty's own."[147]

When tensions between Genoa and Spain arose again between the years 1599 and1605, after the 1598 Treaty of Vervins had brought an end to the fighting between France and Spain, questions of galleys and sovereignty over the sea surfaced once more. The first flares of tension were sparked in 1599 when the Marquis of Finale agreed to the passage of Finale to Milan upon his death, thus leaving the Spanish with a foothold of their own on the Ligurian coast. As a

haven for smugglers, Finale had always been a thorn in the side of Genoese finances; contraband was sent via Finale to Milan sidestepping the republic's customs officers. With both Finale and Milan in Spanish hands, the Genoese feared losing control of the important transit traffic, not to mention the worries over a possible permanent Spanish military presence in the midst of the republic's territory.[148]

Merely four years later, in 1603, the republic's worst fears seemed to be confirmed as the governor of Milan, the Spanish Count of Fuentes, claimed a number of Genoese and Tuscan territories as Milanese possessions. While Philip III clarified the position of the crown, stating that the move had been an initiative of Fuentes, a cool season began in relations with Spain, and the republic set about bolstering its own military resources. The Genoese archives testify to the extensive reforms of the military, and in 1605 the Senate was even allowed unlimited spending for defense.[149] Also in 1605 the Spanish galleys carrying troops for the war in Flanders were refused access to the port of Savona and forced to disembark in the less protected port of Finale.[150] In 1607, a year after Gian Andrea Doria's death, the republic's squadron was enlarged to eight galleys.[151]

These years between 1585 and 1607 must not be seen only in terms of a contrast between the galleys of the republic and those of Gian Andrea Doria or of the Spanish crown, or of a newfound loyalty to the republic and the defense of its independence. Rivalry between the factions of *nuovi* and *vecchi* were still present in the political arena, even though civil arms had been laid to rest. Furthermore, as the division between the two factions of the nobility came to be limited to the political sphere, repressed conflicts within each of the principal factions of the nobility—divisions that the necessities of the former polarity had kept in the background—came to the fore.

The author of the 1597 *relatione*,[152] mentioned earlier, clearly denounces such divisions, warning that they could easily lead to another clash similar to the one of 1575. The author warns that the old nobles could cause a new conflict due to their pretensions of maintaining one-half of the offices in the government or, should the equilibrium among the various houses not be upheld, within their own ranks. In like manner the new nobles could give rise to conflict should the delicate balance between their principal houses and the houses originating in the artisan classes not be respected.[153] The numerous scandals and political clashes reported in the annals point to a more subtle and complex set of divisions than the scheme presented in the *Relatione*.

Difficulties in electing a new doge in 1585 could still be attributed to strife

between *vecchi* and *nuovi* (the *vecchi* insisted on forcing the traditional alternation between old and new nobles in the city's highest office by excluding even the candidature of new nobles),[154] but maneuvers to disrupt the functioning of the Collegi in 1586 could no longer be blamed on the same division. Attempts were made in early 1586 to subject the *procuratori perpetui* to a special review, not by the Minor Consiglio as dictated in the constitution, but by ad hoc panels. The instigator seems to have been Gio Batta Gentile and the primary target Nicolò Doria, both of them *nobili vecchi*.[155] Further clashes not corresponding to the old divisions included the election of David Vaccà as doge in November 1587 and the *sindicato* of Ambrogio Di Negro.[156] Vaccà, a new noble, was universally considered Gian Andrea Doria's partisan, and his election was attributed to Doria's "art, industry, and intercession." At the same time Di Negro's workings as doge were put into question by the *supremi sindicatori*;[157] among other things Di Negro was severely criticized for not having prosecuted Leonardo Spinola. Doria was able to call for a review of the most hostile *sindicatori* thus ensuring Di Negro's passage to the position of *procuratore perpetuo*. Through Roccatagliata's description of the clash, however, it is possible to identify the principal elements of the anti-Doria party: Gio Batta Spinola, Nicolò Doria, Gio Batta Gentile, Antonio Grimaldi, and Luca Negrone. The rivalry was not between the traditional factions, nor exclusively among houses, but among the *entourages* surrounding the particularly powerful individuals Gian Andrea and Nicolò Doria, distant cousins.

Yet another division occurred between Gian Andrea Doria and a number of exponents of the Spinola; when debating the question of whether to salute Doria's galleys, the principal opponents were members of the Spinola family, and "many believed they did so on purpose, only to disturb Doria's thoughts."[158] Given the position of Leonardo Spinola as Doria's right-hand man it is clear that there was no absolute division along lines of family name; allegiance was given or denied to institutions or clientele systems following criteria of a much smaller scale than the "clan" or extended family. Leonardo and Giannettino Spinola had risen to prominence under the aegis of Doria, while Carlo and Dioniso Spinola were to be found under the Lomellini family in Tabarka, while yet another pyramid, rivaling and finally replacing that of Doria, was to be formed around the Marquis Ambrogio Spinola.

The *nuovi* showed no lack of cracks in their internal order either. Following the elections of December 1587, dissatisfaction arose within their ranks over the distribution of nominations between exponents of the merchants and of the ar-

View of the Island of Tabarka. Just off the coast of Tunisia, the island was site of a Genoese colony controlled by the Lomellini family. Museo Navale di Genova. (Photo courtesy of Musei Civici, Genova; Archivio Fotografico del Comune di Genova.)

tisans, and again in 1589 during the election of the governor of Corsica.[159] The second case is particularly interesting because it illustrates the opposing positions of those who would have liked to perpetuate the *vecchi-nuovi* conflict and those who preferred the tacit agreements arrived at following the 1575–76 civil war. The candidates for the governorship were Gio Benedetto Lazagna and Filippo Passano. Lazagna was the favorite since Passano was considered to have a conflict of interest as a holder of feuds in Corsica. A clash between the artisans and the doctors (of law), however, and some rash declarations by Stefano Lazagna (a doctor) resulted in Passano's election as governor; Lazagna was guilty of having said publicly that he wanted to see only new nobles in the key positions of governor of Corsica, general of the galleys, and ambassador to Spain.

By 1598 electing the doge was not a question of choosing a suitable candidate, or even of supporting a member of one of the two principal factions. In that year the election boiled down to a confrontation between the followers of the city's two most powerful citizens, Gian Andrea Doria and Ambrogio Spin-

Palazzo Ducale, seat of the republic's government and residence of the doge. The palace acquired its current form when it was completely renovated in 1591–1620. (Photo by author.)

ola; laments Roccatagliata, "The election of the doge was thus reduced to this state in Genoa."[160] In 1606, when Spinola passed through Genoa on his way to take command of the Spanish army in Flanders, he was visited by all the members of the Colleges except two, Orazio Lercaro and David Vaccà, one an old noble and the other a new one, both of them partisans of the recently deceased Gian Andrea Doria.

CHAPTER FOUR

Diplomacy and the Rearmament Debate

The Weight of the Spanish Alliance, 1607–1640

> Llegaron tres o cuatro genoveses ricos pidiendo asientos, y dijo un diablo:
> —Piensan ganar *en* ellos, pues esto es lo que les mata. Esta vez han dado mala cuenta y no hay donde se asienten, porque han quebrado el banco de su crédito.
>
> Y volviéndose a Dios, dijo un diablo:
> —Todos los demás hombres, Señor, dan cuenta de lo que es suyo; ma éstos, de lo ajeno y todo.
>
> Pronunciόse la sentencia contra ellos; yo no la oí bien, pero ellos desaparecieron.[1]
>
> —FRANCISCO DE QUEVEDO,
> "El Sueño del Juicio Final" (1610)

The first decade of the seventeenth century marked the beginning of a period of transition in the history of the Republic of Genoa. Disagreement over questions of sovereignty, various diplomatic incidents, and growing resentment of the overbearing manner with which the Spanish often interfered with the republic's internal questions all indicate that the once solid alliance between Genoa and Habsburg Spain was beginning to wear thin. After the suspension of payments on the Spanish crown's debts in 1607, the Genoese began to seek alternatives to the preponderant political and economic role played by Spain in the affairs of the republic. This period, the second phase in the development of the republic's maritime policy, lasted little more than thirty years and was characterized by the progressive withdrawal of the Genoese from financial activities at court (a very difficult task given the periodic *quiebras*, or defaults on payments, and the forced conversion of short-term debt into long-term obligations) and the slow maturation of a desire to assert a real policy of neutrality and to establish some politi-

cal and diplomatic distance from Spain. In terms of maritime policy these decades-long trends were accompanied by a variety of projects and proposals, often contrasting with one another, which indicate not only a desire to give new direction to the republic's economy but also a lack of agreement over exactly what that direction should be and how it would relate to Genoa's role in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean world. In this sense the Genoese maritime policy continued to be the point of encounter between the world of politics and diplomacy on the one hand and the economic world of the Mediterranean Sea on the other.

The Strains of Mutual Dependence: Genoa, Spain, Silver, and Arms

Still an integral part of the Spanish world in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the Republic of Genoa was bound to its powerful and often cumbersome ally through ties of every sort. Perhaps the most visible links to the Spanish empire were the continued practice of hiring out galleys to the Spanish crown (a "Spanish" squadron continued to be based in Genoa throughout the century, first under Gian Andrea, then Carlo, and still later Giannettino Doria) and the presence of Genoese citizens at virtually every level of administration in the Spanish realms. Genoese citizens, in fact, sat on the Consejo de estado and served as viceroys, admirals, generals, factors, and lesser officials. The conspicuous Genoese involvement in financing the Spanish crown, of course, with the Genoese exercising a near monopoly on such activities well into the century, made for another extremely strong tie with the Spanish world. These activities, however, involved primarily the city's nobility, the oligarchic families. Another important series of bonds existed between the republic, the Iberian Peninsula, and the kingdoms ruled by the Catholic monarchs: in a word, trade. Of the 237 arrivals of ships listed in the registers of the Carati del Mare, Venuta Occidentis between 1601 and 1608, 167 came from Spanish ports.[2] The explosion in Genoese paper production between the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, from 1,467 to 3,030 bails, was largely absorbed by Spain as was 70 percent of its cloth production and more than 80 percent of iron and steel exports.[3] Traffic, of course, did not flow in a single direction; over the course of the sixteenth century (and at a reduced level during the seventeenth as well) imports of raw silk, one-half to two-thirds of which came from the Spanish-

dominated regions of southern Italy and Sicily, accounted for up to one-half (by value) of all imports arriving in the city by sea, while raw wool from Spain accounted for another 10 to 20 percent. Furthermore, in spite of the appearance of considerable shipments of Baltic grain in the Mediterranean, during the first half of the seventeenth century between 28 and 48 percent of the grain acquisitions made each year by the Ufficio di Abbondanza came from the Kingdom of Naples (including Sicily).[4] A mere look at the volume of trade between Genoa and Spanish lands, however, as consistent as it was, does not adequately illustrate the degree to which the republic was embedded in the mesh of relations between its citizens and the Habsburg realms in the Mediterranean.

Once again, a convenient lens for analyzing the layers of interdependence between the Ligurian state and its powerful ally is provided by the republic's squadron of galleys, or rather by the means adopted for financing the fleet's maintenance and operations. As mentioned earlier, one of the primary sources of income assigned to the Magistrato delle galere were freight charges on the transport of raw silk from Messina. The galleys, which symbolized at least a degree of independence for the republic, were in turn largely dependent on trade with the Spanish realms for their financial support. As in the sixteenth century, the earnings from freight charges fell far short of covering the expenses of maintaining the galleys, but they were an integral and consistent part of the magistracy's finances; 120,000 lire in 1611 as opposed to 153,000 lire assigned to the galleys from other sources (see table 4). This year was exceptional, though, as the figures available for freight charges on silk during the years between 1610 and 1640 range from 30,542 lire in 1626 to 153,673 lire in 1639.[5] The vital importance of this entry in the balance sheets of the *magistrato*, but also for the economic interests of the city at large, is poignantly illustrated by an episode recounted in the letters of the Venetian ambassador Francesco Morosini during the summer of 1613. Given the general state of alarm and nervousness about the quantity of foreign troops near the republic's borders (Monferrat was then the theater of fighting between the Duke of Savoy, France, and Spain, while the Duchy of Modena and the Republic of Lucca were at war in the Garfagnana) and the presence of an English pirate with four vessels in Villefranche, the government had resolved to reinforce the garrisons in the republic's territory and not to send the galleys to Messina to load silk, preferring to keep them close to home for protection of the republic's coasts.[6] Then, "when it was least expected," the Senate decided to send six galleys to Sicily, "moved mostly by private interests, which always prevail here."[7] Interestingly, when the galleys were

Table 4. Total Income and Total Expenses of the Magistrato delle galere *and Income from Freight Charges, 1611–1639* (in lire correnti)

	Magistrato delle galere		Freight Charges		
Year	Total Income	Total Expenditures	Income from	As Percentage of Income[a]	As Percentage of Expenditures[a]
1611	153,000	320,000	120,000	80	37.5
1612			55,000		
1616	277,942	310,068	60,435	21.7	19.5
1617	267,593	310,445	36,751	13.7	11.8
1618	282,670	313,640	199	0.07	0.06
1619	273,814	292,350	55,084	20.1	18.8
1620	254,463	276,289	34,630	13.6	12.5
1621	309,233	250,654	84,872	27.4	33.9
1622	366,146	241,681	131,950	36	54.5
1623	330,301	399,112	94,115	28.5	23.6
1624	363,243	396,167		0	0
1625	417,734	521,694	738	0.18	0.14
1626	340,924	536,393	30,542	9	5.7
1629	449,191	449,191			
1635	273,451	273,451	1254	0.46	0.46
1638	381,718	381,718			
1639	427,477	427,477	153,673	35.9	35.9

[a] Percentages have been rounded to the nearest tenth except when less than 1 percent, in which case the figures have been rounded to the nearest one hundredth.

unable to load silk in Messina in 1618, the magistracy's officials requested a special subvention of 60,000 lire in order to cover the missed income.[8]

The galleys were also far from extraneous from another very important bond tying the Genoese to the Spanish Empire; silver, whether coined or in ingots, was constantly being shipped from the Iberian Peninsula to Genoa. In his reconstruction of precious metal shipments from Spain to Genoa in the public galleys, Gian Carlo Calcagno claims that 68,750,000 pieces of eight were transported during the first four decades of the seventeenth century.[9] This figure does not even begin to represent the total amount of coin and bullion shipped. Not only were shipments made in the galleys of the Doria squadron, but also in the Spanish galleys and countless smaller Genoese ships and boats.[10] This traffic was, in fact, so common that in his 1638 manual for merchants, Gio Domenico Peri includes facsimiles of insurance policies for bullion to be shipped in galleys and bills of lading for shipments of silver from Barcelona to Genoa.[11]

This particular cargo was both the by-product of a heavy trade imbalance between the two countries and also one segment of the route by which American silver was transferred across the continent to finance the Spanish war effort in the Low Countries. Unfortunately, it is not only impossible to ascertain exactly how much silver was shipped to and through Genoa but also what proportion of it was destined to private Genoese citizens and how much was transferred to Antwerp or to the Piacenza fairs. At any rate, the scattered references to individual shipments give the impression that staggering amounts of precious metals were shipped, and it is clear that the Genoese were able to skim profits off these funds at various stages of the complicated process. The enterprising financier stood to gain on a range of services provided, including interest on loans, charges for transferring funds to Antwerp, insurance and transport fees for the Mediterranean passage, and bills of exchange on Antwerp; in addition, he stood to benefit from the relative difference of value between gold and silver in Italy and in the Low Countries.[12] Genoese dominance of Spanish finances led to enormous profits for the bankers active at court,[13] but given the system set up with the *medio general* of 1577–78 and the establishment of the "Besançon" fairs at Piacenza in 1579, it had become an important element in the economy of the entire city.

The size and growth of Genoese financial activity are impressive; the 1575 suspension of payments had blocked 13 million ducats due on loans from Genoese, representing 63.2 percent of the loans involved in the suspension of payments. By 1596 Genoese loans made up 75 percent of the credit blocked by that year's *quiebra*, while in the seventy contracts made with Philip III between 1598 and 1609, 32,989,937 ducats (88 percent of all moneys loaned) was borrowed by the Spanish monarch from Genoese financiers.[14] The suspension of payments of 1607 blocked 13,400,000 ducats due to the Genoese,[15] roughly the same amount blocked by the 1575 *quiebra*, but the vast number of *juros* held by Genoese, a consistent portion of the consolidated debt, must be added to this figure. The same period witnessed a dramatic increase in turnover at the "Besançon" fairs at Piacenza, from 1.2 to 5.3 million scudi d'oro annually during the period running from 1550 to 1573 to 44.6 million annually between 1601 and 1605.[16] Clearly, the profits made through this system were enormous (simply floating credit from one exchange fair to the next could bring an annual profit of approximately 8 percent) and inevitably led to the accumulation of immense personal fortunes and the creation of a number of "eminent" personalities whose interests did not always coincide with those of the republic. Generally

in line with the critiques of the sixteenth century, Andrea Spinola, a writer and acute observer of Genoese politics, commented in the early seventeenth century that "In republics very eminent citizens harm equality and civil living. . . . In republics it is better to have many rather than few eminent citizens as they keep guard against one another and balance each other out."[17] In his list of "Things in which the Republic has improved," Spinola specifies that "Today there is no citizen so great that he can completely blot out the Republic's little light."[18]

Apparently Spinola was right about the lack of a single figure capable of exerting an overwhelming influence over the republic. In the final years of the sixteenth century even Gian Andrea Doria, while capable of interfering with the inner workings of the city's government, was not able to direct it at will. By the early seventeenth century even the old rule by which only *nobili vecchi* were admitted as *asentistas* at court had broken down; of the seven bankers singled out by Enrica Neri as the principal financiers at Philip III's court, three were *nobili vecchi* (Sinibaldo Fieschi, Battista Serra, and Ottavio Centurione), whereas four were nobili nuovi (Gio Batta Giustiniani, Carlo Strata, Nicolò Balbi, and Gio Batta Sauli).[19] Further evidence of the slow blurring of factional divisions, at least in economic terms, can be found in the estimates of total worth made for fiscal purposes in 1593 and again in 1624: in 1593, 293 of the 449 fortunes (65.3 percent) estimated at over 50,000 lire belonged to old nobles; in 1624, only 237 of 484 (49 percent) belonged to *vecchi*.[20] These trends led to two tendencies regarding the republic's ruling councils and highest offices. While maintaining the alternation of *vecchi* and *nuovi* in the election of the doge, the Collegi became the realm of only the republic's wealthiest citizens,[21] and regarding any sort of policy concerned with the financial activities of the eminent citizens, the government showed itself to be remarkably compact.

The Spanish suspension of payments of 1607 marks the beginning of a change in tactics on the part of the Genoese, but also serves to illustrate the degree to which the republic was willing to sustain its bankers in order to protect this vital activity. Blocking more than 13 million ducats in Genoese assets the bankruptcy of 1607 hit the Genoese more than twice as hard as the 1627 suspension of payments, which is usually taken to mark the end of "el siglo de los genoveses."[22] In spite of resistance from the Casa di San Giorgio, which protested the loss of income on the *gabella de' cambi* (a tax on bills of exchange at the Piacenza fairs, the income from which depended on the volume of accounts settled at the fairs), in November 1607 and again in January 1608 the rul-

ing councils in Genoa declared that debts at the Piacenza fairs be carried from one fair to the next at the limited interest of only 1.5 percent in order to protect those financiers who were exposed on the exchange market and left without their expected income from Spain. It was forbidden to protest against or "molest" debtors, and payments were automatically postponed to the following fair with the sole exception that, if ordered by the Senate, debtors could be forced to pay up to 300 gold crowns—scudi d'oro in oro—to each creditor.[23] Control over the fairs themselves was strengthened with the establishment of the Magistrato dei cambi in September 1609 to settle any disputes arising at the Piacenza fairs.[24]

The republic's government showed itself to be no less compact on internal questions. Internal cohesion and political coverage of the Genoese financial machine were given priority even over consolidation of the republic's territory. The Republic of Genoa had purchased the feud of Sassello, but in 1611 the sale was blocked, and because the Spanish occupied it militarily, the Genoese were unable to take possession. Anti-Spanish pamphlets by Alessandro Cattaneo and Gio Francesco Spinola soon appeared. Cattaneo and Spinola (both of them *vecchi* and from families with considerable interests in Spain) were imprisoned on September 6, 1611,[25] and as a response to their pamphlets the republic prohibited the circulation of writings dealing with the *government* without the express permission of the Colleges.[26] The government in Genoa had backed up its citizens active at the Spanish court, allowing them to buy time on the exchange markets in order to remain solvent and take up their financial activities again almost immediately after the *quiebra*. At the same time what was reasonably seen as Spanish interference in the republic's affairs had been criticized, but Genoa quickly silenced that criticism so as not to disturb the delicate bond between the two countries and, perhaps more important, the financial interests of the Genoese. It is worth noting, though, that the two men imprisoned for speaking out against Spain and the republic's acquiescence belonged to families and to the faction traditionally identified with the Spanish alliance. Thus, positions on the value of financial activity to the community and on the republic's international collocation in general almost entirely blurred previous factional divisions.

Indeed, the first decade of the seventeenth century witnessed a number of changes affecting not only the Genoese in Madrid but also within the Republic of Genoa. First of all, with the forced conversion of short-term *asientos* into long-term *juros*, enormous quantities of silver began to arrive at the Genoese mint. Prior to the 1607 decree, in fact, the mint in Genoa was coining roughly

600,000 to 700,000 lire annually, while that figure rose to 2 or 3 million lire per year between 1608 and 1617.[27] An operation to recover assets was apparently under way, or at the very least the Genoese who had investments in Spain were transferring them to Genoa and elsewhere in order to avoid the growing instability of the Spanish financial situation. In spite of Philip III's efforts to get his country's debt under control, one of the consequences of that effort, the reduced profitability of the *juros* along with the subsequent difficulty in selling them, led many financiers to prefer preserving their wealth in Genoese scudi d'argento. The increased activity of the mint could simply correspond to an ever-increasing flow of silver to the Piacenza fairs to underwrite bills of exchange in Antwerp, although in that case it would be difficult to explain the willingness to pay the *signoraggio*, the cost of coining paid to the mint. Another element that would seem to indicate a general disinvestment trend is the fact that during these years the republic's wealthiest families began to loosen their grip on the *seminario*, the pool of candidates from which members of the governing Colleges were drawn.[28] With the forced conversion of the lucrative *asientos* to *juros*, investments in financing the Spanish crown no longer differed greatly from investing in the public debts of other states. If Spain lost its primacy as a field of economic activity for the wealthy bankers (whether it retained its primacy as a market for Genoese goods was not of vital importance to the plutocrats), then it was no longer necessary to hold the reins of the city's government in order to safeguard against abrupt changes in policy that could have jeopardized their investments. In short, less political backing was needed to cover diminishing financial investments in Spain.

Mutual dependence was giving way to mistrust, and during the years just before and just after the turn of the seventeenth century there was ample cause for relations between Genoa and Spain to sour. First of all, a number of encroachments were made on Genoese territory. The Spanish were not only dependent on the financial services of the Genoese, but use of Genoese territory was also of vital interest in order to maintain communications with the Spanish-held Duchy of Milan. The Genoese, of course, were dependent on the Spanish for defense. Following Spanish occupation of Finale on the Ligurian coast and Spanish interference in the Genoese acquisition of Sassello, a feud of the Habsburg emperor, attempts were made in 1602–3 to annex La Spezia to the Duchy of Milan.[29] In response Genoa embarked on a general rearmament program in 1605, building a number of fortresses, increasing the size of its galley squadron,

and even discussing the construction of a galleon fleet.[30] All of these moves must be read in terms of a desire to diminish the republic's dependence on Spain. The degree of influence exercised by Gian Andrea Doria and his fellow *asentistas de galeras* seemed to be wavering. When Doria died in 1606, command over the Genoese galleys contracted out to Spain passed to the young Carlo Doria, Duke of Tursi, but the admiralty of the Spanish Mediterranean fleet did not. Filiberto of Savoy became Spain's supreme naval commander in the Mediterranean. The nomination of a member of the house of Savoy to a position held for nearly eighty years by the Doria marked a shift in Spanish policy. In all probability the change marked not distrust toward the Genoese but a desire to strengthen the bond between the Duchy of Savoy and the Habsburg monarchy. All the same, given the change, it was necessary to reevaluate the hierarchical positions of the various components of the Spanish western Mediterranean system.

In 1606 the galleys of the Spanish fleet were joined by those of their allies for an expedition against the Barbary corsairs. In the order of battle and the fleet's deployment under sail, the galleys of the Knights of Saint John of Malta were given precedence over those of the Republic of Genoa. In other words, the Maltese *capitana* occupied the position to the right of the Spanish *capitana*, both when moored in port and when drawn up for battle. The Maltese had claimed this position as early as 1582, and it was officially recognized in 1606 by the Spanish general, the Marquis of Santa Cruz.[31] The precedence of one nation's galleys over those of another was a very clear expression of a hierarchy of states regulated by the same rules governing the ceremony for the presentation of foreign diplomats at court; emperors and kings precede princes and dukes and so forth. The message behind Spanish recognition of the Knights of Malta's aspirations to precede the Genoese was unequivocal. Placed in a subordinate position with respect to the Knights of Saint John, who held the island of Malta as a concession from the Habsburg emperor, the republic's status as a sovereign state was in effect denied. The Genoese commander, General Saluzzo, appealed Santa Cruz's decision, but the appeal went unheeded and in the wake of widespread dissatisfaction and even hints at altering the republic's system of alliances,[32] the Senate was forced to take action. After numerous requests made by the Genoese ambassadors at court, news reached Genoa in September 1611 that Philip III in person had declared himself in favor of giving precedence to the Knights of Saint John.[33] The Senate immediately proposed that under no circumstances were the republic's galleys to participate in any joint operations involving the Knights of Malta unless precedence be given to the vessels of the

republic. The motion passed the Minor Consiglio with 101 votes in favor and only 1 contrary, and 318 votes to 9 in the Maggior Consiglio.[34]

In order to fully understand the implications of the dispute, it is worth looking at the language of both the proposal made by the Genoese Senate and the position maintained by the Knights of Saint John in their response to the Genoese claims.[35] The republic's claim for precedence is based on three points: the republic's greater antiquity, past examples of precedence given to Genoese galleys over those of Malta, and the republic's rule over "provinces and realms"—the Knights of Saint John being merely "a congregation of private individuals . . . living on the rocky coast of a little island, which is even under the dominion of others."[36] The Maltese response ignored the questions of the republic's status as sovereign state (as a religious order the knights boasted a theoretical claim to precedence over all temporal rulers) and attacked the image of its antiquity (both because the current form of the republic was a product of the sixteenth century and because the Genoese did not claim precedence over the Venetians or the Florentines on the same grounds). The Knights of Saint John also pointed out that on the occasions when Genoese galleys had been given precedence over those of Malta it had not been due to the status of the republic, but rather to the position accorded the individual commanders of the galleys and their relations with the emperor or the king of Spain. In other words, if Andrea Doria had preceded the Maltese on Charles V's campaigns against Corone in 1532 and against Tunis three years later, as did Gian Andrea Doria on the Lepanto campaign in 1571, the precedence was given to the Doria not as citizens of Genoa but as commanders in the service of the Spanish crown. In the case of the elder Prince of Melfi, Doria's galley *was* the imperial *capitana*. When Philip III decided in favor of the Maltese in 1611, that was precisely the message he was trying to get across; the Republic of Genoa should neither aspire to independence nor claim sovereignty over the territories under its control, but rather it should seek to maintain its position in the graces of the Spanish monarch through the services it could render to the crown.

During precisely the same period, between 1610 and 1612, a similar and not entirely unrelated dispute broke out between the republic and the papacy. In those years the papal fleet was commanded by Francesco Centurione, a Genoese noble. Centurione had angered the republic in 1610 by capturing a ship near the port of La Spezia in spite of Genoese claims to sovereignty over those waters. Centurione was banished from the republic, but the ban was dropped a year later following the intervention of one of Pope Paul V's nephews.[37] In Septem-

ber 1612 while the Genoese galleys were in Messina to load silk, the papal squadron entered the port and was saluted by the republic's *capitana* and by the Florentine *capitana*, which happened to be in the port as well. Centurione responded by firing a three-gun salute to the Genoese and a four-gun salute to the Florentine.[38] Once again the affront must be read in light of the question of sovereignty. In 1612 the papacy was in the midst of a conflict with Venice over Venetian claims to sovereignty in the Adriatic.[39] For different reasons the Habsburgs and the pope were both interested in denying Venetian and Genoese claims to sovereignty over the seas: the Habsburgs because the Austrians claimed sovereignty over the Adriatic for themselves as did the Spanish for the western Mediterranean, and the papacy because it declared itself in favor of the "open sea" in order to free shipping in their Adriatic ports from Venetian interference.[40] In any case, Venice and Genoa were to be put on the same level and have their claims to sovereignty over the Adriatic and the Ligurian seas respectively denied; the outcome was juridical aggression against Venice and disrespect for the Republic of Genoa. Capturing a boat in Genoese waters signaled complete disregard for the republic's claims, as did the inferior salute.[41]

In the meantime Genoa and Malta fought a bloodless war for nearly ninety years, wielding the arms of precedence and the salute. A few examples of this war's "battles" help to illustrate the importance attached to seemingly banal incidents. During the summer of 1619 a fleet was assembled in Messina by the king of Spain for a planned expedition against Tunis; the galleys of Spain, Genoa, Tuscany, the Papal States, and the Knights of Malta were to participate in the campaign.[42] The Spanish resident ambassador in Genoa, Vives, assured the republic that its galleys would be given precedence over those of Malta and the Genoese sent a squadron of five galleys under Gio Vincenzo Imperiale to take part in the expedition. Upon arrival the admiral of the Spanish fleet, Prince Filiberto of Savoy, informed Imperiale that the Maltese were to be given precedence and suggested that the Genoese sail without their standard in order to avoid raising the question. When Imperiale refused, Prince Filiberto requested that the Genoese consign him sixty slaves from each galley to fill out the ranks of the rest of the fleet, and when Imperiale refused again, he was ordered to leave the port immediately. More than a decade later an open clash between the Knights of Saint John and the republic was only narrowly avoided, again in the port of Messina, as both squadrons drew up for battle, each refusing to cede precedence to the other. Only the threat of being fired on from the city's ramparts could stop the impending battle; the city's governor at arms had ordered that a barrage be fired against whoever loosed the first shot.[43]

A report to the Senate from the Genoese General Luca Giustiniani illustrates yet another episode that took place in Palermo in August 1634. Giustiniani had heard that the galleys of the Knights of Saint John were in Trapani and that they would probably be arriving shortly in Palermo, and he also knew that the Marquis of Santa Cruz was in Palermo on board the Spanish *reale*, "as they called the *capitana* of the Duke of Tursi"[44] (the Duke of Tursi was Carlo Doria, son of Gian Andrea Doria). After firing the usual salute to the city upon entering the port, Giustiniani "considered it best to go take the place next to the *reale* for several reasons,"[45] but as he was headed in that direction he noticed that the *capitana* of the Sicilian squadron had left its post and was also moving toward the place of honor to the right of the *reale*. The Genoese general gave order to speed up and barely managed to squeeze between the other two galleys, the three ships ending up with their awnings hanging onto one another's decks. The captain of the Sicilian galley lodged a complaint with the viceroy (Cardinal Giannettino Doria, the Duke of Tursi's younger brother), and that night the *reale* and the Sicilian *capitana* left their slips and moored on the opposite side of the port, all sides of the *reale* covered by other Spanish vessels. The following day Giustiniani was received by the viceroy, who intimated that in order to avoid distasteful events Giustiniani should make amends for the arrest of one of Santa Cruz's officers on criminal charges in Genoa, a veiled request to allow the marquis to take a Genoese hostage. Giustiniani, of course, refused but had to order his crew not to leave the galley in order to avoid ambushes in town. The threats became heavier, and the Genoese were even prohibited from taking on rations. As Giustiniani was preparing to leave the port, a squadron of six Maltese galleys appeared at the entry of the port and were immediately given the place of honor on the starboard side of the *reale*. The Genoese general continues, "I put the oars to the water and left, and I did not consider it convenient to do so earlier in order to avoid appearing to cede, willingly or out of fear, that position which is owed only to our republic's standard."[46]

As far as the Spanish were concerned, the conflict between Genoa and the Knights of Saint John was used in this case as a tool for the extension of Spanish control over the republic. Not only did the Spanish request to take one of Giustiniani's men hostage overtly deny the competence of the Ligurian state in criminal matters, insisting on the possibility of intervening in favor of the imprisoned Spanish officer, but territorial sovereignty was again brought into question (the prisoner had been arrested in Genoa). Ceding precedence to the Maltese, then, was not merely an insult to the Genoese galley but also a reminder that for the Spaniards the republic had no right to behave as it did, as an independent state.

As a means of favoring the Knights of Saint John in the dispute, the Spanish placed the imperial fief of Malta on a higher plane than the republic.

As part of the Spanish system of states in the western Mediterranean, the Republic of Genoa had little room for maneuver. Resentment of Spanish arrogance and insults could only be answered with claims of independence and autonomy and an equal measure of disrespect. The two states remained, however, interdependent. The monarchy was bound to the republic's services and capital, but also to its very geographic location, while the republic was in turn bound by interest and a need for protection. Through the first third of the seventeenth century Spanish predomination in the Mediterranean could not seriously be questioned; pretensions and aspirations had to be played out on a symbolic level.

The republic had increased the size of its squadron from six galleys to eight during the summer of 1607 without providing any additional funding to the Magistracy of the Galleys until April of the following year when income from the tax on wine and the interest on two "columns," or legacies, in the Bank of Saint George were assigned to the squadron's upkeep.[47] Little was to change over the following years, and financial discussions about the squadron continued since the magistracy was constantly in debt. In August 1610 we find the galleys running a deficit of 50,000 lire and one of 47,000 lire in October 1611. Not only were there difficulties in collecting the funding for the galley to be maintained by the communities of the *riviere*;[48] in addition, the 22,000 lire a year contributed by San Giorgio for the maintenance of a single galley[49] no longer covered the estimated 40,000 lire per year necessary to keep a galley in service, so that in the summer of 1624 the Magistrato delle galere was forced to ask for money again. With the threat of Genoese involvement in the Thirty Years' War growing, some effort was made to cover the office's debt of 80,000 to 100,000 lire and to find an additional 50,000 to 60,000 lire annually to cover the expenses of maintaining the galleys in the water nearly year round. The contributions to be made by the Casa di San Giorgio and the *riviere* were raised to 36,000 lire each, and the Office of Corsica was ordered to pay 36,000 lire annually as well, disbanding two cavalry companies and raising the export duties on Corsican grain by 25 percent in order to meet the expenses.[50] Finally in January 1625, 100,000 lire against shares in the salt tax were transferred to the galleys in order to pay off the debts they had *sopra cambi*, running from one exchange fair to the next.[51]

It would take more than that, though, to get the magistracy's accounts in

order. In August 1624 the magistracy proposed another scheme to raise the 100,000 lire necessary to pay off its debts but lost the vote. The money was to come from a tax of one-half of 1 percent on estates of more than 12,000 lire, the first 100,000 lire of which was to go to the galleys.[52] The proposal's failure seemed to be due to the oligarchs' simple unwillingness to tax their own estates, but only three months later a tax of 1 percent on estates over 12,000 lire was passed (with a 10 percent discount for those who paid promptly). The difference was that the money raised could only be spent in case of aggression against the republic and only with the consensus of the Minor Consiglio.[53] The objection hadn't been to the tax, but to using the proceeds to pay off the galleys' debts. Apparently there were still many patricians who preferred to see the Magistrato delle galere short of funds. In fact, for those oligarchs who desired a continued and unchanging relationship with Spain, the so-called pro-Spanish party, the republic's squadron of galleys had always been an unwelcome presence. It is again Andrea Spinola, in his *Osservazioni intorno al governo di Genova* of 1608–1611, who explains that the king "has worked hand and foot so that [the republic] disarms . . . the two galleys added, as he does not in any way want us to be strong" and that he had been able to maintain a strong influence in the republic by keeping "a squadron of 16 or 18 galleys by which he keeps a good number of nobles interested," and by making it easy "to buy fiefs, making our citizens vain with appearances and titles."[54]

In 1613, however, a new element was introduced into the debate. An anonymous proposal to the Senate suggested the construction of twelve galleons to be leased out to private citizens as a means of both encouraging maritime trade and ensuring the republic a certain military presence at sea. This proposal merits considerable attention, because it sheds light on several aspects of conditions in Genoa during the first decades of the seventeenth century. The proposal itself is introduced by a brief summary of what the author sees as the causes for the decline in Genoa's presence at sea, exalting the virtues of shipping and maritime commerce and condemning purely financial activity as detrimental to the well-being of the community as a whole:

> The earnings from such commerce on the one hand, and the freight charges on the other, some exchanges of money, which necessarily follow the same merchandise, allowed for such profits that both public and private interests alike benefited. Later, after having begun to deal with princes, and in particular with His Catholic Majesty, and to invest in the public finances of foreign countries, and after the

> introduction of money changing on a wide scale, all of which bring higher profits with less effort, little by little the richest citizens have abandoned maritime commerce and allowed other nations to enter into the field. Especially the Flemings, who not only through their commercial faculties, but also with the great number of their ships, now have almost all commerce and shipping in their hands.[55]

Again we find shipping and commerce placed in contrast to finance and the exchange fairs, but with some new elements, the first being the financial weakness of the republic. Since income was based primarily on customs duties and a series of *gabelle* on consumption, so the argument goes, the abandonment of trade to the Flemings (the author uses the term to refer to all merchants from the Low Countries, most of whom were Dutch) had caused the republic to lose this source of income. The wealthiest Genoese had abandoned commerce while the Dutch had taken over the carrying trade through the sheer numbers of their ships.[56] Genoese shipping was left in the hands of "weak men who, not having their own means, have been forced to suffer exorbitant interest rates"[57] and therefore were unable to compete with the Dutch shippers.[58] It was not, however, according to the proposal's author, too late to remedy the situation. The anonymous writer claimed that the time was ripe for innovation, especially given the reduced profits offered by financial activities. In fact, the most recent Spanish "bankruptcy," that of 1607, had reconverted much of the Spanish debt into relatively low-interest annuities. The results were lower profits for the financiers, while "the abundance of money" at the Piacenza fairs had led to lower interests on bills of exchange, including loans *sopra cambi*.

The construction, then, of twelve galleons to be leased out and eventually another twelve to be kept on reserve in the arsenal for use in emergencies was to be complemented by a series of government subsidies to merchants and sailors, to be paid back at 5 percent interest (higher than the 3 percent offered by the Bank of Saint George). The benefits foreseen ran from providing work for shipbuilders and carpenters, thus keeping those vital trades alive in Genoa, to relaunching maritime commerce and public finances in general. It would also provide, it was hoped, an economic alternative for the patricians active in the service of the Spanish crown as financiers and *asentistas de galeras*. To sum up: the decline in the Genoese fleet had been perceived and attributed to the abandonment of shipping by the republic's wealthiest citizens; maritime traffic was seen to be in the hands of the northerners who had the advantage of a substantial fleet and, implicitly, sound financial backing for their shipping; sailing vessels were

seen as being better adapted to commerce than galleys; the ties to Spain were seen as undermining the republic's fiscal structure and draining it of its most able personnel. For the most part, the profits generated through financial activities eluded the republic's fiscal machinery, whereas investments in trade led much more directly to increased income from customs duties.

That the proposal was taken seriously is clear from the names on the commission formed to examine it—ten of the city's most powerful individuals representing the highest organs of the state as well as the Bank of Saint George.[59] Apparently it was also taken seriously by the Spanish as someone saw fit to send a copy to the court.[60] Though never enacted, perhaps the proposal had reached its goal by simply drawing so much attention; the threat of a general withdrawal of the Genoese from the Spanish sphere and the republic's armed neutrality led, at least for a few years, to greater respect for the republic on the part of the Spanish. At any rate, ties to Spain were still too strong for any real change in direction. As Doge Alessandro Giustiniani wrote in his diary, "at present our republic and its liberty are founded on its fortunes and on the protection of Spain, and we must hope to find strength in the arms of this monarch. These vessels, besides the unbearable cost to us, would show complete imprudence, or even make the Spaniards jealous. It has been proposed, but nothing has been decreed."[61]

In spite of everything, the time was not ripe for a change in the republic's political position with regard to Spain, and there was still too much silver flowing through Genoa to warrant costly and unsure attempts to reconvert the city's economy. In the end, even Andrea Spinola, who was amply critical of the nature of the republic's relations with Spain, was not in favor of breaking with the Spanish but rather of eliminating the causes of friction between the two countries. Favoring "real commerce" as opposed to the purely financial activities of his peers, he did not, however, approve of armament programs with militaristic overtones. For Spinola "only three galleys, well supplied and well armed, and two small galleons to keep in service between October and March, would have been sufficient to keep the republic's waters free of corsairs year round."[62]

Naval Rearmament as a Test of Patriotism

"Reason would have it that our republic should always receive beneficial treatment and every advantage from [the Spanish] monarchy. Whether that has happened or not, only those citizens who have governed the republic, and in

particular since 1625, know."[63] Not until the third decade of the seventeenth century did the "chain of interests" linking the Ligurian state to the Spanish monarchy show real signs of breaking, and only through the strain caused by years of incessant warfare in Europe did the Spanish alliance begin to lose its appeal to the Genoese oligarchs. Well into the 1630s the republic and the Spanish often found themselves fighting side by side; the galleys of the Doria squadron were still in the service of the crown and Genoese financiers were still active at court, though at a greatly inferior level. So what would those who governed the republic since 1625 have to say? One of the points of attrition revolved around possession of the Marquisate of Zuccarello. The Republic of Genoa had purchased the territory from the Holy Roman Emperor, but the Duke of Savoy had also laid claim to it. By 1624 it had become increasingly clear that the dispute between the republic and the Duke of Savoy would come to open aggression. Moneys were raised to finance an eventual conflict: the tax of 1 percent of November 9, 1624, mentioned earlier; 4,000 *luoghi* from the Casa di San Giorgio sold at 260 scudi each against an increase in the salt tax; and noble status given to two wealthy citizens from the *riviere* in exchange for substantial contributions to the coffers of the state.[64] The number of galleys was increased from eight to ten, 5,000 German mercenaries were hired, and commissaries were sent to the subject territories to raise an additional 6,000 men for the republic's defense. Permission was also asked of the Republic of Lucca to raise troops on its territory. Then, in February 1625 a combined army of roughly 30,000 French and Savoyard troops crossed the Apennines practically overrunning the republic's defenses; by the first of April the invaders were within sight of the city and began to occupy the western *riviera*. The French fleet threatened to cut communications with Spain and in March captured three Genoese ships carrying nearly 650,000 pieces of eight.[65] It was therefore of great relief to the city when in April the Marquis of Santa Cruz arrived in the port of Genoa with thirty-three galleys and 2,700 soldiers.[66] The Genoese allowed their troops to be placed under the command of the Neapolitan noble Tommaso Caracciolo, as suggested by the Spanish crown.[67] In late spring another 2,000 infantrymen and 200 cavalry arrived from the Duchy of Milan.[68] Galeazzo Giustiniani with four of the republic's galleys captured the Savoyard *capitana*[69] and things seemed to be taking a turn for the better. Disillusion with Spanish management of the war came quickly, though. The Genoese were eager to recover their lost territories, but Santa Cruz, now with seventy galleys in the port, refused to leave the city.[70] The reconquest of the *riviera* was brought about that summer and the following autumn by a fleet of forty galleys under the joint command of the republic's gen-

eral, Emmanuele Garbarino, Santa Cruz, and Carlo Doria. By October the republic had recuperated all its lost territory with the exception of the castle of La Penna and had even added Oneglia, Ormea, and a number of localities in Piedmont to its possessions.[71]

Spanish aid had been prompt and effective. The reversal of Genoese sorts when all seemed lost, the continued arrival of silver shipments even in Spanish galleys, and the unwavering behavior of Doria and his fellow *asentistas de galeras* all seemed to substantiate the positions of those who, like Doge Alessandro Giustiniani in 1613, saw perfect union and harmony of intents in the alliance with Spain and the bonds between the Genoese nobility and Philip IV. All was not to go to the republic's liking, however, in 1625. In October, at the height of success against Genoa's northern neighbor, the Spanish and the French, without consulting their respective allies—in fact, without even informing their allies that negotiations were being made—signed a six-month truce, which was imposed on Genoa and Savoy as well.[72] In early 1626, as Savoy rearmed and the Republic of Genoa began to fear that it would again become the object of

Cornelius de Wael, *Troops Embarking on a Galley in the Port of Genoa.* Museo Navale di Genova. (Photo courtesy of Musei Civici, Genova; Archivio Fotografico del Comune di Genova.)

French and Piedmontese appetites, Santa Cruz proposed some modifications in the alliance between Spain and the republic. Given the events of the previous year, the Genoese were particularly well disposed toward Philip IV and accepted an alliance for the mutual defense of one another's states, the republic agreeing as well to maintain 14,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry, the expenses for which were to be reimbursed through the alienation to the Genoese of equivalent sums from the royal revenue in Castile. Furthermore, the republic agreed to send 70,000 scudi a month to the governor of Milan against similar assignations to be specified at a later date. In the event of a Savoyard attack on the republic, Philip IV committed himself to attacking Piedmont on its exposed side from Milan, and should Milan be attacked, the Genoese would invade Piedmont from the south.[73]

The agreement and the strategy were reasonable enough for two allied states faced with a likely invasion along one of two possible paths. In the end, the financial aspect of the agreement was not so very different from the sort of thing the Genoese bankers had been doing for the Spanish kings in the Low Countries for decades; in exchange for portions of the irregular or unpredictable income of the king, the Genoese guaranteed regular payments in far-flung areas, something that the king's administration was unable to do. The only difference was that the assignments of revenue to be made in compensation for the Genoese outlays of cash were not specified. As Francesco Casoni put it, "This consideration was very useful to the Spanish crown. This year the republic spent 800,000 scudi without receiving the corresponding assignments, thus making true the old adage that the company of the big is bad for the little."[74]

In March 1626 the French and Spanish made peace, suspension of fighting between the Duke of Savoy and the Republic of Genoa being an integral part of the agreement. Over the course of the following four months the two smaller states were supposed to make peace as well, with one of the two monarchs acting as arbiter. Hostilities between Turin and Genoa, however, continued at a low boil. Without the aid of the big monarchies, fighting continued but on a smaller scale. As for the Spanish, the cost of an ambitious foreign policy caught up with them again in 1627. Constantly in search of revenue, the Count Duke Olivares began to solicit loans to the crown without interest and without guarantees, which were obviously refused.[75] Payments of the crown's loans were suspended again on January 31, 1627, and outstanding debts were converted to *juros*. The Genoese financiers, exposed for 6 million ducats, were given *juros* carrying a 5 percent interest rate (compared with those of up to 10 percent in Philip II's

day),[76] which, according to Casoni, could not be sold at better than two-thirds face value.[77]

Although the suspension of payments did not create immediate tension among the bankers at court—none of whom asked for the suspension of legal actions against them, nor did they suspend payments to those who had invested with them[78]—it would be difficult to sustain that this bankruptcy did not represent an interruption in the affairs of the Genoese, as suggested by Enrica Neri.[79] Nor was it merely the manifestation of the "historical revenge of the Spanish urban patriciate and oligarchies over the Genoese," replacing the Ligurian bankers with their Portuguese competitors.[80] The liquidity of the Genoese in the period immediately following the decree of *suspensión de pagos* and the relatively small sum involved, compared with the 1607 suspension of payments, have been taken to indicate that the economic situation of Spain and the state of royal finances were not at the breaking point, that the conversion was merely an excuse for Olivares to rid himself of the hated Genoese bankers in favor of the Portuguese, whom he trusted more. When we see, however, that the *asientos* stipulated between 1621 and 1627 were covered by assigned revenues for no more than 60 or 70 percent,[81] further corroborating Casoni's estimate on the real worth of the *juros* given to the financiers in the settlement of the *medio general* of September 1627, a purely political explanation of the bankruptcy is hard to support. At the same time the unwillingness of the Genoese to continue risking their capital was only logical. The annuities on the *juros*, of already dubious value, were to be collected in *vellòn* (copper), which could not be spent in the Republic of Genoa[82] and which could only be converted to silver at a great loss. In 1628 the *vellòn* was debased by nearly 40 percent against silver.[83] Only then were the Genoese financiers forced to suspend payments to their own creditors, and "nearly all trade ceased with manifest ruin both public and private, which was so universal and extreme that not one family was exempted."[84] When news arrived in 1628 that a Dutch squadron had captured the *flota de la plata* off the coast of Cuba, any residual interest that may have remained in investing in Spanish finances vanished. In fact, from this point on only a handful of powerful financiers remained active at court, and then with the status of *factores regios* providing the service of transferring the king's money across the continent, risking as little of their own capital as possible.[85]

The growing disaffection with the Spanish alliance was not of course limited to the sphere of activities of the Madrid bankers. In early 1628 fighting broke out again over the Mantuan succession, and Carlo Emmanuele of Savoy aban-

doned his alliance with France in order to join Spain in the hopes of gaining territory in Monferrat, which lay between his country and the Duchy of Milan. Eager to win the belligerent duke over to the Spanish cause, thus cutting off French access to Italy, the governor of Milan, Don Gonzalo de Cordoba, hastily arranged a truce between the crown's two warring allies, the Duchy of Savoy and the Republic of Genoa. The imposed alliance with their enemy was resented by the Genoese, whose suspicions were confirmed with the discovery of Giulio Cesare Vacchero's conspiracy plot on March 31, 1628.[86] The conspirators had planned to assassinate the doge and senators, massacre as many nobles as possible, and allow French and Savoyard troops to enter the city. Had the scheme worked, in all probability the republic would have been annexed to the states of Carlo Emmanuele.

Since Philip IV had come to its aid in 1625, the Republic of Genoa had seen itself abandoned by the Spanish in the wake of a secret peace with the French, treaties had been imposed on it, and it had been forced to accept an alliance with a neighbor who continued to plot against the republic. At the same time Genoa had been hit hard by the suspension of payments of 1627 and subsequent currency disorders in Spain, while the republic had spent a great deal of money supporting Spanish troops and was suffering under the strain of maintaining its own forces in arms. In fact, between 1625 and 1631 extraordinary taxes had been levied on property three times;[87] taxes on oil, meat, and salt consumption were all raised in 1625;[88] and the tax on milling flour was raised twice in the same year.[89] Still in 1625, a 40,000 lire annual income given to charitable organizations was reassigned to finance the republic's galleys.[90] By the end of August 1625, 9,724,000 lire had been spent on fortifications and munitions, and an additional 4,080,000 lire per year was needed to pay the republic's soldiers.[91] In spite of the increased taxes, the republic had to borrow an additional 2,400,000 lire *sopra cambi* in 1626 alone. The salt tax was increased further in 1627, and at the end of 1629 the Camera was still running a debt of 172,000 scudi (688,000 lire) *sopra cambi*.[92]

Internally, the republic's ruling class had shown itself to be quite united in defending the republic. The nobility had been willing to tax itself repeatedly, something that it had always been reluctant to do in the past, and even the conduct of the galleys in the service of Spain could not be criticized. When the Duke of Savoy chose to sponsor a coup within the republic, no cracks could be found in the ruling class.[93] Not as much can be said of the rest of Genoese society. As predicted in the *relatione* of 1597, danger came from the wealthy citizens

excluded from the ruling class, who were frustrated by the oligarchy's unwillingness to accept new members each year as prescribed by the Leges Novae of 1576. Given the level of tension of 1625 the *ascrizione* of seventy new nobles was proposed but failed to pass the Maggior Consiglio, intensifying further the sense of frustration especially among wealthy citizens who had made considerable contributions to the war effort. In 1626 ten men were given noble status by means of the regular procedure set forth in the 1576 laws.[94] At any rate, it was precisely from this class that the conspirators were recruited; the author of a brief contemporary account expresses astonishment at the fact that one of the men arrested had an income of more than 2,000 scudi a year.[95] The republic remained solid, though, refusing to give in to the Duke of Savoy's threats that he would execute Genoese prisoners should the republic execute the conspirators.[96] In 1629, one year after the conspiracy, nobility was conferred on ten aspirants in addition to the *ascrizione* of two entire families in exchange for cash.[97]

In the years immediately following Vacchero's attempted coup, fighting over possession of Monferrat slowed to a war of attrition, and the republic seemed to be out of any imminent danger. It was then that internal unity began to show signs of strain regarding questions of foreign policy and, given the treatment received, the alliance with Spain. Those in support of the long-standing alliance, and there were still many, defended the Spanish on the grounds that had Philip IV wanted, he could easily have taken over Genoa in 1625 rather than coming to the republic's defense. In response, the growing party in favor of a more autonomous policy for the republic replied that simply not overrunning a century-old ally while helping to repel the invasion of a common enemy was hardly noteworthy.[98] The immediate consequence of this debate was a general warming of relations with France and a continued deterioration of relations with Spain. French markets were opened to the Genoese, while rumors of Spanish treachery began to spread.[99] Although Doge Andrea Spinola (a cousin of the writer and political commentator of the same name) declared that the republic would formally renounce its neutrality in the Thirty Years' War in order to follow the house of Habsburg, relations continued to worsen. An episode illustrating the level of Genoese distrust took place in January 1630, when a group of galleys from the Spanish squadron based in Naples was denied entry into the *darsena*, the wet dock and outermost section of the arsenal complex, where they had wanted to take cover from the cold winter weather.[100]

Peace was finally negotiated between the republic and the Duke of Savoy, and

the treaty, signed on July 5, 1633, was to go into effect in 1634; both sides, dissatisfied with the terms proposed earlier by the Spanish, had refused the first version of the treaty.[101] Having finally withdrawn from the conflict, Genoa was now free to attempt an authentically neutral foreign policy. Naturally, the Spanish were not pleased by such a shift, and their vessels continued to harass shipping in the waters claimed by the republic, denying the republic's sovereignty over those waters and insinuating an inferior Genoese status in the western Mediterranean system of states. Relations with the Spanish declined rapidly in the wake of a series of incidents, the first of which took place in 1633. In that year the squadron of galleys under Carlo Doria captured a Dutch merchantman and towed it into the port of Genoa. As the Dutch consul was setting in motion the bureaucratic procedure to have the ship restored to its rightful owners, Doria, who intuited the general dissatisfaction with his act, towed the ship to Finale and had a Spanish flag put on it. With the republic paralyzed by its unwillingness and inability to confront the Spanish, the Dutch sent a squadron of armed ships to recapture the merchantman to the elation, according to the Dutch consul, of two-thirds of the population of Genoa.[102] There was just cause for alarm; formally Spain had been at war with the United Provinces for decades, but had previously left the republic's traffic with the Dutch untouched. Genoese ties to the Dutch were manifold, and the prospect of continued Spanish assaults on Dutch ships was an understandable cause for concern. The republic was dependent on imported wheat, much of which was brought to the city by Dutch shippers, but even in more general terms the Genoese had intense commercial interests in the Low Countries and made widespread use of northern ships for transporting merchandise.

When open hostilities broke out between the French and Spanish again in 1635, the Spanish reinforced their presence in the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian seas with twenty-two galleys and thirteen galleons. These warships often stopped Genoese vessels in the republic's waters to search for French passengers and French goods. In response the republic refused to allow the Spanish to disembark their troops or to take on water and staples in Genoese territory.[103] Deprived of the essential free passage of troops through Liguria, the Spanish ambassador, Don Francisco de Melo, tried to induce the republic into a new alliance with the crown, even offering the Marquisate of Finale as a guarantee of the inevitable loans asked of the Genoese. The Senate refused the offer.[104] Whether the Spanish made the offer of Finale in good faith will never be known. Although such guarantees were questionable, the risks of financing the Spanish

war effort were real, as was demonstrated yet again later that same year when Philip IV confiscated the revenues attached to all *juros* held by foreigners, most of whom were Genoese.[105]

Times were beginning to change, though, and it seems that several factors were conspiring to sour relations with the Habsburg monarchy. In early 1636 even a bout of unseasonable weather played its part. When Liguria endured a famine during the first months of the year, relief from starvation for many of the republic's inhabitants came in the form of a shipment of 100,000 sacks of wheat from France and the arrival on March 22 of several Dutch ships. These shipments brought home an important point to the Senate; commercial relations with the Dutch and increasingly warm relations with France were not only beneficial for private merchants but could also prove to be of vital interest to the population at large. And it was precisely these relations that were being menaced by the continued Spanish military presence, both in the Gulf of Genoa and in the city's port itself. In April 1636 a law from 1583 that had fallen into disuse was revived, forbidding entry in port to all foreign ships carrying soldiers. An amendment was even proposed (without passing) that all Spanish ships be denied entry to the port on the grounds that it could create an embarrassing and potentially dangerous precedent if the French sought access to the port.[106] In August of the same year Carlo Doria was even denied access to unload silver.[107] The fears of the proposal's author were not unfounded, as borne out that autumn. In September 1636 a powerful French fleet under Harcourt appeared in the republic's waters protesting the fact that, in addition to four of Doria's galleys, seven Spanish galleys were then present in the port with (according to French claims) 1,200 soldiers aboard. Furthermore, Harcourt requested free access to the republic's ports and beaches as well as free passage for troops through Genoese territory.[108] The French were granted access to all of the republic's ports with the exception of Genoa, but were denied passage for their troops, the Genoese claiming that not even the king of Spain enjoyed such rights.[109] On the same day as the meeting between Harcourt and the Genoese envoy, Luca Giustiniani, orders were given that two of the republic's galleys and two *felucche* were to inspect all ships approaching the city in order to enforce the decree against bringing infantry into the port.[110]

Roughly a year later, in June 1637, the Spanish galleys of the Sicilian squadron under the command of Melchior Borgia captured ten Dutch merchantmen transporting grain to Genoa.[111] Even more Dutch ships were captured by the Spanish galleys in early 1638, and as a result the republic closed the

port of the city Genoa to Spanish galleys and initiated a diplomatic campaign in favor of the Dutch in order to obtain the return of the ships and their cargoes.[112] The climate in Genoa in 1638 seems to be summed up quite well by a proposed text (not approved) asking for the return of the Dutch vessels and for official recognition from the Spanish crown of Genoese sovereignty over "il Mare Ligustico":

> If His Majesty's galleys arrive in the Gulf of Venice, or France, or England and find their enemies there, this is a very different case than the present one; that is, while the galleys are guests in our ports [they can] await those vessels that bring foodstuffs and merchandise to the city and prey on them, damaging those who have shown the courtesy to receive them.[113]

The demand for recognition of sovereignty revived an old question whose relevance had never faded. On the contrary, developments in the ongoing political and diplomatic machinations of the Italian peninsula and the Mediterranean world at large had brought the question insistently back to the fore. Within the context of a broader web of relations, the Republic of Genoa had formally claimed royal status in 1637. In September of that year the Collegi of the republic (the doge, the Senate, and the procurators, in plenary session) decreed that henceforth the republic was to be considered a kingdom as far as international ceremony was concerned and that, as a consequence, the senators, governors, ambassadors, and generals of the republic should be addressed with the title of Excellence.[114] The full significance of this move can only be appreciated, though, in the light of the papal bull published by Urban VIII assigning the title of Eminence to cardinals, ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of the Knights of Saint John of Malta, exempting only kings from the observation of such ceremony. Beyond the necessity of claiming royal status in the ongoing struggle for precedence over the Knights of Saint John, the pretensions to royalty held a message that could not have been lost on the Spanish either. As illustrated a few years later by the Genoese jurist Raffaele Della Torre, "The sovereignty of princes is that characteristic which makes them in their role similar to God, from whom alone and immediately [from whom] they recognize their authority, and which raises them in dignity above those who do not possess it."[115] In claiming that the republic was not only a sovereign state but a king owing its status only to God, the Genoese refused any sort of Spanish or imperial pretensions over the state and held that the seas before Liguria were their

own sovereign territory, just as the kings of Spain claimed jurisdiction over the western Mediterranean.

The disaffection with Spanish pretensions and mistreatment had now been given a juridical footing, and a growing number of oligarchs were determined to change the course of the republic's existence. Insistence on the question of sovereignty and the refusal to accept formal alliances with Spain gave some substance to Genoa's traditional claims to neutrality but also left the waters before the city open to marauding by Spanish and French corsairs, as well as to the traditional enemies in the *guerre de course*, the Barbary states.[116] For those oligarchs who wished to withdraw from the Spanish alliance, a credible means of defending the seas had to be found; as in the polemical literature of the sixteenth century, the retreat from Spanish interference and protection—and also from financial activity in Spain—had to be accompanied by plans for naval rearmament. Spanish attacks on shipping in the Ligurian Sea had seriously compromised Spain's image as the republic's protector, while the suspension of payments and currency debasements of 1627–28 severely diminished the financial bonds between the two countries. Two of the three elements of the sixteenth-century propaganda had come about by themselves; only naval armament was lacking. The supporters of naval armament, beginning with Uberto Foglietta and the authors of the polemical treatises of the 1560s and 1570s, had all called for an end of Genoese involvement in Spanish finances and the simultaneous construction of a state-owned fleet for safeguarding the republic's independence. By the fourth decade of the seventeenth century it was clear that financial activity in Spain no longer held a promising future; in fact, the Spaniards themselves, through the attacks on shipping in the republic's waters, were forcing Genoa into a more effective neutrality. Regarding a naval buildup, Uberto Foglietta had found the rhetorical expedient of soliciting the donation of Andrea Doria's galleys to the state. The oligarchs of the seventeenth century would have to find another expedient.

In 1632, nearly twenty years after the initial proposal for the formation of a squadron of galleons, a new scheme for the armament of sailing vessels was proposed to the republic. This proposal was made even before the Spanish had begun to attack Dutch shipping in the Ligurian Sea. The proposal's author claimed that the reasons for arming a squadron of galleons, "to reintroduce the art of sailing and to facilitate trade," were so widely known that there was no need to discuss them, passing directly to "the ways that such a profitable thing

can most easily be put into practice."[117] The two main themes of the 1613 proposal reemerge here as entirely obvious: that the Genoese were no longer active in the art of sailing and that trade was languishing. The author was not alone in this impression, though he must have been blind to the fact that the volume of port traffic had been rising for nearly fifty years,[118] or perhaps he simply chose to ignore this fact in order to privilege a patriotic desire to see the republic's standard flying from the masts of a larger number of ships in port.

The proposal for the construction of eight vessels is interesting, however, for the organizational scheme presented. If the problems underlying the gradual retreat of the Genoese from shipping and maritime commerce were to be identified with an excessive involvement in financial activities, as suggested by both the political propaganda of the sixteenth century and the 1613 proposal, then a new way of amassing the considerable capital necessary for the construction of eight ships had to be found. Although many Genoese nobles were trying to withdraw their investments from Spain, apparently very little of the money that they were able to retrieve was reinvested in commerce.[119] The republic itself, on the other hand, was in no position financially to provide the necessary funding, given the recent expenditures during the war against Savoy. The model proposed, then, was the Dutch model, or more specifically the joint-stock company model of the Dutch V.O.C., the Dutch East India Company.

In the original proposal, the cost of building the eight ships, ranging in size from 1,000 to 2,500 salms (roughly 215 to 535 tons), was estimated at 120,000 scudi; the four largest were to be built in Sampierdarena and Savona and the others to be commissioned in the Low Countries, Thirty citizens "who do not abhor such an undertaking" were expected to invest 3,000 scudi each for a one-fortieth share, and the republic itself was to contribute 30,000 for a 25 percent share in the company. The author continued that, should the republic find it difficult to raise the money given its current financial situation, it could furnish the equivalent in timber from the state woodlands, together with artillery, muskets, and munitions. The administration of the company would be entrusted to the procurators of the republic in rotation for one-year periods. Finally, the ships should be granted a reduction on anchorage taxes as well as on import and export duties, an aspect deemed *necessarissima* (of utmost importance), and would be given preference in loading goods in the port of Genoa. In other words, no other ship leaving for the same destination as the company's ships could load goods until the company's vessels were full. All funds were to be deposited with

the Bank of Saint George until the first partitioning of profits, which would take place three years after the company's original formation.

Apparently after some discussion the proposal was modified.[120] The size of the ships was now to be uniform, between 2,000 and 2,500 salms, and the number of participants in the company increased to fifty against an investment of only 2,000 scudi, to be made in separate installments over the course of two years. The republic's quota was reduced to between 20,000 and 25,000 scudi in materials and supplies, while the Bank of Saint George was now expected to contribute 20,000 to 25,000 scudi as well. The request that the company's ships be the first to load in the republic's ports had been dropped, perhaps in the hopes of winning the support of the Casa di San Giorgio.[121] A seemingly unimportant provision sheds some light on the entity of the changes that had taken place during the past few decades of the city's history. In the formerly glorious maritime republic it had to be admitted that in order to find officers for the eight ships "it will be necessary to take every sort of person, both Genoese and foreign."[122] Furthermore, the proposal suggested that one or two Genoese nobles be sent on each ship in order to learn the trade.

The scheme presents some elements in common with the proposal of two decades earlier: the use of sailing vessels and the desire to encourage maritime trade among the ranks of the city's nobility. It also contains some new elements that reemerge again and again in various projects throughout the seventeenth century: the company format (here tacitly in imitation of the Dutch model, although even more explicit references can be found in later proposals), the request for privileges from the republic (and consequently from the Casa di San Giorgio), and the use of a semiofficial state organization for the training of qualified maritime personnel. One important element, however, is lacking: there is absolutely no mention of the type of trade to be engaged in, nor is a single destination mentioned. As in the analysis offered by the proposal of 1613, the author seems to think that the very existence of a certain number of ships with decent financial backing would suffice to bring about *benefitij inumerabili* (benefits without number). This fact leads us to two conclusions: the proposal is not the product of a merchant actively involved in maritime commerce, who would certainly have been aware of the structural difficulties of Genoese long-distance trade and would in all probability have felt compelled to approach such a problem;[123] and therefore, the proposal belongs among those projects aimed at separating the republic from the Spanish sphere of influence and reconverting it to

a maritime power—it is, in short, a political project. But because launching these rhetorical fleets in the name of patriotism was easier than actually attaining the desired ends, the proposal was allowed to fall from the republic's agenda.

In fact, with the most intense phase of the fighting finished for Genoa, already in 1631 the republic had begun to look for ways of cutting expenses in order to get its finances back under control. By 1629 the operating costs for a single galley had risen to roughly 62,000 lire a year[124] (more than twice the cost of building the ship itself),[125] and in early 1631 it was estimated that the Camera was spending around 40,000 lire a year above the Magistrato delle galere's ordinary budget to keep the office from falling too far in debt.[126] More money was needed; the republic passed another tax of 1 percent on property[127] and reduced the number of galleys kept in active service to only six.[128] Costs were reduced further by freeing a number of convicts used as oarsmen on the galleys; with fewer galleys in service fewer men were needed, while surplus mouths to feed meant unnecessary expenses. Already in 1629 convicts of military crimes had been released, and in 1631 30 convicts reputed to be unfit for service and another 150 serving brief sentences were granted an early release.[129]

Therefore, due to an overstrained budget, the republic actually reduced its maritime forces to below prewar levels, while at the same time a growing number of the city's nobles began to desire more autonomy for the republic along with the additional naval forces necessary to make neutrality possible. Given the republic's unwillingness to take on a peacetime naval buildup, a number of the city's oligarchs decided to take it upon themselves to prove the feasibility of their proposals. In the wake of the latest of a series of incidents undermining Genoese claims to sovereignty over the Ligurian Sea, a group of patricians led by the brothers Francesco Maria and Galeazzo Giustiniani formed a private company whose primary goal was that of reviving the republic's strength at sea.[130] The Compagnia di Nostra Signora di Libertà drew on an odd mix of elements ranging from projects aimed at reviving the Republic of Genoa's past maritime glory to explicitly imitating the Dutch joint-stock companies.

In the summer of 1638 the company armed and equipped a single galley, manned by free, salaried oarsmen rather than slaves and convicts, and sent it out with one of the republic's galleys to transport silk from Messina to Livorno, Genoa, and Marseille. The voyage was a financial success. The galley even proved to be faster than any of the galleys in the squadrons of Sicily and Naples and as fast as the republic's *capitana*, which was accompanying it. More important than the financial success of the venture, however, was its success as a

rhetorical exercise. The first steps were finally being taken and the first demonstrations being made of an idea developed in the 1560s. As first suggested in the pamphlets of that decade, the plutocrats behind the company were hoping to show the viability of breaking with Spain and founding the republic's economic and political independence on the construction of a sizable galley fleet and a silk industry in expansion. The possibility of using galleys manned by free oarsmen was also being put to the test. In fact, one of the principal objections to the repeated calls for the expansion of the small squadron of galleys maintained by the republic was that of the cost of maintaining large numbers of convicts and slaves who had to be fed even when the galleys were not in the water. The debate over this point had been accentuated when, in order to cut back further on expenses, the Office of the Galleys laid off sixty free oarsmen *(buonavoglia)* and freed a number of convicts.[131] For the Magistrato delle galere the salaried oarsmen were even more expensive than convicts or slaves when the galleys were kept in service nearly year round. The proponents of the "free" armament, on the other hand, argued that a reserve of galleys to be manned in emergencies by free oarsmen could provide a substantial increase in the republic's presence at sea in times of need. Furthermore, in continuation of the 1632 proposal, the form of the joint-stock company, which had been singled out as the key to Dutch success, was seen as the solution for finding adequate capital to back maritime ventures.

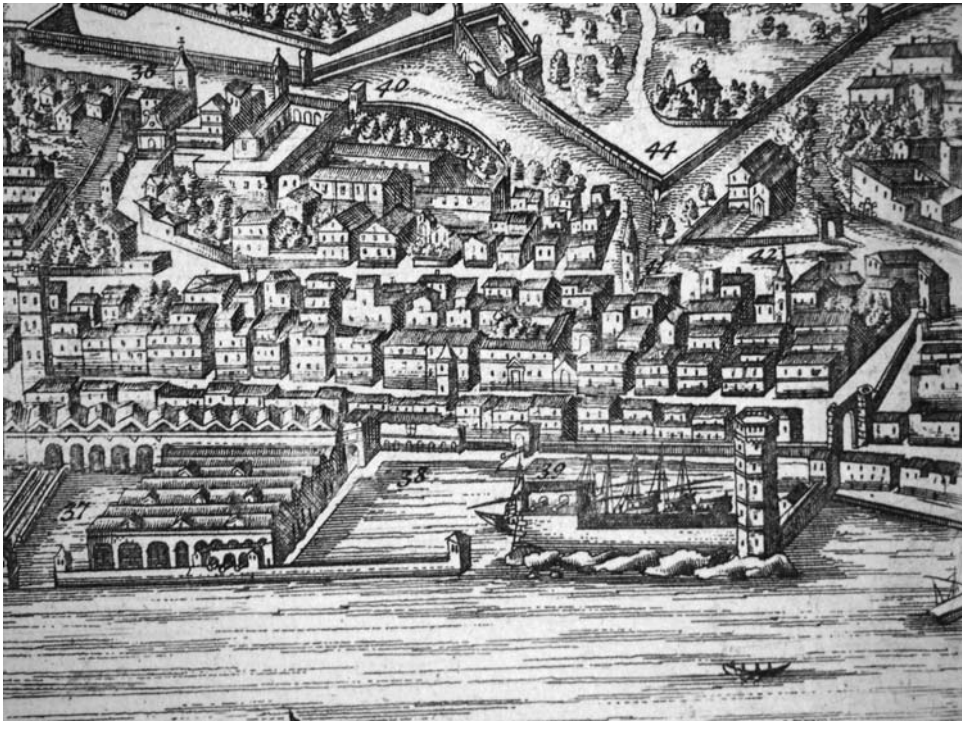
Enthusiasm for the company's initial success was perhaps a bit exaggerated. In October 1638 two more proposals were discussed by the Senate. The first called for the formation of a knightly order, in imitation of the Tuscan Knights of Saint Stephen, which would arm twelve to fifteen galleons to be used both for commerce and for military purposes. Maintenance of such a fleet would be financed through freight charges and the contributions of aspiring knights, who would subsequently be eligible to enter into the republic's oligarchic caste. This was seen as a means of resolving two problems at once: tapping the financial resources of the wealthy nonnobles who aspired to a higher social status and access to the government; and reducing the sense of frustration among that class, given the oligarchy's reticence at elevating new members to the nobility.[132] This project (at least in its title if not in its contents) suggested a specific area for relaunching the republic's maritime trade, the Levant. Given the fact that the republic had no formal relations with the Ottoman Empire, this prospect was unrealistic, motivated more by a backward-looking desire to recreate a past maritime glory that was imaginatively situated in a period antedating Genoese

involvement in Spanish affairs. The Genoese, however, did not learn from the difficulties created for Tuscan trade in the East by the Knights of Saint Stephen,[133] or chose to ignore them; their object was simply to launch a number of ships, and trade would presumably follow.

The second proposal of October 1638 specifically called for the formation of a company "in conformity with those of the Dutch," composed of thirty to forty galleys and ten to twelve galleons to be provided by the state, while the company would pay operating expenses, the company and the state would share profits in roughly the same terms as in the 1632 project.[134] This second proposal, full of patriotic evocations of the republic's maritime glory, openly states that the experience of the Compagnia di Nostra Signora di Libertà was "only a little trial."

The members of the company were more prudent. The company's charter, submitted for approval by the Senate in December 1638,[135] called for the eventual construction of ten galleys, only two of which were to be built in 1639. The declared object of the company was the carrying trade *(il viaggio per noliti)*,[136] although the charter's first article declares that the company intended to "attend to navigation even with noble acts against the enemies of the Christian name,"[137] and provides instructions for the election of officers should the galleys make privateering voyages.[138] The true nature of the company as a propagandistic exploit or at best a patriotic exercise, rather than a commercial venture, is perfectly clear in the charter; it is explicitly stated that the Senate can use the company's galleys for any public necessity, that 10 percent of the company's profits are to be devolved to the government,[139] and in exchange the founders of the company ask that their galleys' officers be given patents from the republic and be recognized as the republic's own officers.[140] The primary goal of the company was to put a number of armed ships in the water in the name of the republic, whether the Senate itself was enthusiastic about it or not. It was assumed that the silk trade, traditionally identified with projects for rearmament, though not mentioned in the company's charter, and the joint-stock company format would be adequate expedients for keeping the company afloat.

Preparations for the company's voyage planned for the summer of 1639 began to attract attention even outside the republic. While the Grand Duke of Tuscany's correspondent wrote to inform him that the company's *capitana* had been launched amid considerable fanfare, in the presence of dames, knights, music and applause,[141] the partisans of the Doria and the Spanish alliance were intent on sabotaging the company's chances of success. Shortly before the galleys were to leave port, the Senate sent two of the republic's vessels to Messina



The darsena and arsenal complex, detail of a seventeenth-century view of the city. (Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa.)

and passed a decree forbidding Genoese ships to load silk before the state galleys had been loaded to capacity. In the meantime Doria sent orders to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily to block the company's galleys with whatever means necessary.[142] In addition to the obvious reasons for Doria's opposition to the venture, Nicolò Imperiale explains that even the Office of the Galleys was concerned about the possible concentration of experienced sailors and oarsmen on company ships, making eventual recruiting even more difficult and costly for the republic in times of need.[143] Unable to load silk as planned, the galleys set off in search of Turkish ships to capture and, without having found any prey, were forced by a storm to take port in Naples.[144] One of the captains, Galeazzo Giustiniani,[145] handed his galley over to the Spanish in hopes of seeking glory with their squadron while the other escaped and returned to Genoa. Given the disastrous outcome of the voyage the company folded with heavy losses.

The message concerning the feasibility of manning galleys with free crews had been proved; what had fallen short, however, was the underlying supposi-

tion that the key to success, as was presumed to be the case of the Dutch, lay solely in the joint-stock company structure. The limits of the galley as a ship type could not be overcome through organization; given the high operating costs and limited autonomy of the galley, it was no longer suited to commerce. In fact, when the galley captains found themselves unable to load silk, a low-volume, high-value cargo, the only alternative seen for breaking even was the lucrative yet risky prospect of piracy. Whether the company could have succeeded in making a profit, or in increasing the number of galleys available to the republic in times of crisis, is a moot question. Profits from silk transport could in all probability have financed a couple of galleys armed for only a few months a year,[146] in effect increasing the number of reserve galleys that the republic could call upon in times of crisis, but a joint-stock company could not turn Genoa into the United Provinces. Division within the republic's ruling class, which by now had fully emerged during the debate about naval rearmament, was still too great to allow for innovation.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Lure of the World's Seas, 1640–1680

> La fama che si è sparsa per il mondo che noi siamo disuniti è falsa in quanto alle volontà, perché tutti habbiamo l'occhio alla medesima prora . . . ; ma quanto all'intelletto è verissima perché la nostra natione è piena di belli ingegni che sogliono partorire bellissimi discorsi e bellissimi pareri in gran quantità e varietà.[1]
>
> ASF, *Mediceo del Principato*, FILZA 2860A, FASC. XIII, LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 15, 1651

Inflated Ambitions and a Maritime Tradition in Decline

Two years after the Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà had folded, the Republic of Genoa officially adopted the idea of increasing the size of its galley fleet through the use of ships manned by free oarsmen.[2] To a large degree the about-face in the republic's position was the result of an ever-increasing aggressiveness on the part of France. In 1639 the French had captured a Genoese galley in republican waters near San Remo,[3] and in July 1640 a French fleet composed of seventeen galleys and twenty-two men-of-war captured eight merchantmen transiting the Ligurian sea. That same summer the port of Genoa allowed a squadron of eighteen Spanish galleys to take refuge to escape a pursuing French fleet. Fearing an imminent French attack, the Genoese placed artillery on the port's breakwall and in the end succeeded in refusing the French entry to the port, claiming (falsely) that the French fleet had been exposed to the plague.[4] These episodes are emblematic of a situation that was all too clear to the republic's oligarchs: the Spanish no longer exercised complete hegemony over the western Mediterranean, and as a consequence the republic's already faltering

ties to Spain could no longer be justified by a guarantee of protection. In a few cases, as in 1640, the Spanish even depended on the Genoese to safeguard their fleets.

Because of these developments as a result of Spanish weakness, along with continued Spanish interference with shipping in the republic's waters, the Genoese oligarchs decided to create a subsidiary squadron of galleys. The fleet of what would be known as the *nuovo armamento*[5] was to be manned by free, salaried oarsmen, as attempted by the Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà, and would be kept in the water for only a limited amount of time each year and in times of emergency. On February 13, 1641, it was voted to build six (of an eventual twenty) new galleys, to be added to the six already in service, and the Magistracy of the Arsenal went to work in a frenetic and somewhat chaotic fashion.[6] As was typical of innovations in the republic, by the end of July money for the project had already run out, but in September a property tax of 1 percent was levied on both the city and the *dominio* to cover the cost of building the galleys.[7] Quite apart from the ships commissioned by the republic, the arsenal was busy building other vessels in those years,[8] and in order to complete the galleys for the "new armament" the Colleges and Minor Consiglio had to order that all workers of the shipbuilding industry lend their services to the republic's arsenal.[9] By early April officials celebrated the launch of the first of the new galleys, and in early May two were ready for their first voyage, to Messina to load silk.[10] Meanwhile, tension in the western Mediterranean continued to rise when the French captured Doria's *capitana* and as news began to spread of the presence of two Barbary flotillas (four galleys from Algiers and from Biserta a squadron of five or six galleys and two brigantines) active in the waters around Corsica and Sardinia.[11]

While the republic's government exhorted the inhabitants of the *riviere* to arm ships against the corsairs and granted blanket letters of patent to anyone willing to sail against the Barbary pirates, the *nuovo armamento* and the patriotism of its promoters were put to the test. Prominent citizens such as Anton Giulio Brignole Sale and the former doge Giacomo Lomellini, well known for their position in favor of naval armament, agreed to build, equip, and donate entire galleys, while many other wealthy Genoese made considerable contributions to the cause.[12] Interesting, the names associated with the new armament in this early phase, when it was charged with an aura of patriotism, represent the two factions of *vecchi* and *nuovi* almost equally. Belonging to one or the other of

the traditional factions was no longer a determining element in one's position regarding questions of naval armament. In like manner— and, of course, the two questions were not unrelated—attitudes toward the republic's alliance with Spain were not determined by factional identity; members of the old nobility were not necessarily pro-Spanish, and members of the new nobility were not necessarily in favor of bolstering the republic's military strength. The choice of one approach or another was no longer a question of allegiance to a model of political or diplomatic behavior, but one determined by a certain vision of the state. Some held a dynastic view of the state in which the more powerful families tended to appropriate as much control as possible. Others, and among them the navalists, held a technical view of the state in which the institutions, rights, and privileges of the state itself were to be strengthened.[13]

In July 1642 four more "free galleys" were fitted out in addition to the two already in service, their numbers now matching the republic's standing squadron of six galleys. The entire fleet set sail along the Tyrrhenian coast in search of the Barbary corsairs. Yet another free galley was fitted out by Gio Bernardo Veneroso, reaching the other vessels of the squadron in Livorno and bringing the total to thirteen (see table 5).[14] From Livorno the fleet crossed over to Corsica, cruised around that island as well as Sardinia, and sailed south to within three miles of Palermo, where they were informed that the corsairs had returned to their home ports in North Africa.[15] After thirty-five days at sea without having caught sight of any possible prey, the galleys put in near Bastia in Corsica. The Genoese oarsmen, most of whom had left the Ligurian *riviere* in hopes of plundering the vessels of rich infidels, now abandoned their ships and set about systematically sacking the nearby coastal villages. After a day and a night of pillaging, the ships' officers had barely been able to round up enough men to sail the galleys back to Genoa, where the whole question of the viability of the free galleys was put seriously in doubt.[16]

The blow was clearly a great one, but in order to appreciate fully the degree of disappointment that followed the debacle, we must take into account the euphoric atmosphere that had accompanied the project at its outset and the celebratory literature produced by a number of the initiative's key figures. In his 1642 treatise *Congratulatione fatta a' Serenissimi Collegi della Serenissima Republica di Genova pe'l Nuovo Armamento delle Galee*, Anton Giulio Brignole Sale voices the highest expectations of the promoters of the new armament but also sums up the criticisms of its detractors, thus allowing us to reconstruct the panorama

Table 5. Publicly Owned Galleys and Galleons in the Service of the Republic of Genoa

Years	Total Number of Galleys	Number of "Free Galleys" among All Galleys	Number of Galleons
1559–64	4	—	—
1564–83	3	—	—
1583–85/86	4	—	—
1586–1607	6	—	—
1607–24	8	—	—
1624–31	10	—	—
1631–41	6	—	—
1641	8	2	—
1642	13	7	—
1643–44[a]	6	—	—
1645	12	6	—
1646[b]	15	—	—
1647	11	—	—
1648–52	6	—	—
1652–54	10	—	—
1654	10	—	3
1655–56	10	—	4
1657–60	6	—	4
1660–76	6	—	2
1677–89[c]	6	—	1

[a] The "free galleys" armed in 1642 remained in the republic's possession but they did not leave the port during the two years 1643 and 1644.

[b] Free oarsmen in 1646 accounted numerically for the equivalent of nine crews, but beginning in this year the free and bound oarsmen were mixed together on the same vessels. From this point on, then, it is impossible to speak of "free galleys" in the republic's squadron.

[c] In 1684 the republic armed an additional four galleys to be added to its squadron. These galleys, one of the objects of contention leading to the bombardment of the city in that year, were disarmed as per French requests. In 1689 the republic sold its last galleon.

of positions in the decision-making process. Brignole Sale claims to have suffered while pondering his city's fate: "I don't know whether it is more apt to excite our anger or the disdain of others," especially in light of the fact that "those numerous armadas of our forefathers and of bygone centuries have been reduced to the number of six galleys."[17] Brignole Sale therefore congratulates the Senate on having taken a decision bound, in the eyes of its supporters, "to make the vigor of the strength, the liberal love of the People, the security of the state, the reputation and the name [of Genoa] stand out, renewing the glories and other titles that sustain the happiness of Kingdoms and Republics."[18] Finally, in addition to the newfound glory, the *nuovo armamento* was destined to overturn the situation that had come to pass, whereby

> It pained me not that we controlled no more than Liguria, but that we don't even control that comfortably; not that our maritime victories no longer brought enemy kings home prisoner, but that princes have suppressed [our] liberty and taken us with it; not that we no longer made ourselves feared by Turkish corsairs in their seas, but that we have had to suffer damages caused by Christian corsairs in our own [seas].[19]

The rhetoric is the same as that used in the proposals for maritime companies and the creation of a fleet of galleons, but the objectives were more narrowly and more declaredly political. Not a word was said about reviving trade or providing ships to be put at the disposal of merchants. The goals are to be placed entirely in the context of the question of sovereignty and its correlate, the claims to royal status on the part of the republic,[20] as well as a generic and nostalgic evocation of past glories and the "reputation" of the Genoese.

Likewise, Brignole Sale illustrates the arguments used against the new squadron, summing them up in five points. First, the project was too costly and the republic had a tradition of squandering moneys earmarked for naval armament. Second, it was seen as useless at best, if not dangerous, to field a squadron of novices against the (larger) veteran fleets then cruising the Mediterranean. Third, there were no freights available or even proposed for subsidizing the squadron. Fourth, the republic lacked adequate personnel with military experience or a willingness to fight. Fifth, the balance of power and the trade routes in the Mediterranean had changed since Genoa's medieval golden age and it was useless to try to recreate something on the basis of premises that no longer existed. Brignole Sale and the other *navalisti* chose to ignore such criticism preferring to risk failure rather than to lose their reputation idly defending riches gained in the past.[21] Even more striking, though, is the obstinacy of the "navalists" in not wanting to deviate from the designs of reattaining the glories of the past through a re-creation of the means and methods of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century heroic period. Although Brignole Sale was fully aware of the problem that the political and commercial systems of the Mediterranean were no longer what they had been, he insists in his hopes of "renewing the ancient Levant routes through this means [the new armament of galleys], special theater of the acquisitions and glories of the Genoese," and that "even though new roads have been opened to maritime navigation, the former ones are not for that reason closed, and the precious kingdoms of the Orient are not so sterile, nor so poor, that they cannot provide goods for those who ply the ocean as well as for those [who sail] the Mediterranean."[22]

"Occhiello" of Giovanni Bernardo Veneroso's *Genio Ligure Risvegliato.* 1650. (Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa.)

The reasoning was quite simple: reviving trade in the Mediterranean should be even more profitable than oceanic trade since "the provinces are more numerous, and more distinct, where many [ships and merchants] put in to port, so that everyone can find employment more easily";[23] in other words, since the Mediterranean world was politically more fragmented, there are more niches to be filled and more possibilities to be exploited. "Now that those new methods of [attaining] wealth, which led us astray from our primary arts, have come to naught . . . we do not for meanness want to differ from our ancestors";[24] reputation and glory, trade and riches, as well as the final remedy for the Spanish parenthesis in Genoese history were all to be had as the result of the institution

of the new armament, counting on the strength and valor of free men lending their services to the beloved fatherland.

With the attacks on the Corsican villages (republican territory) by the free oarsmen of the republic's galleys, a few details had to be reconsidered. Later analyses blamed the disastrous outcome of the 1642 armament on lack of experience on the part of the commanders and the excessive haste of arming and equipping seven galleys at once.[25] The Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà had been able to put together disciplined crews in 1638 and 1639 in part because the company's organizers had allowed time for training the crews and for exercising maneuvers before venturing out into the open sea, but also because, in arming at first only one and then only two ships, they were able to choose experienced sailors and oarsmen. In putting together the crews for seven galleys at once, which included more than 1,800 oarsmen, the republic had left itself little room for choice. In fact, the first hard reality that the republic had to face was that Genoa's "glorious tradition" had faded from reality. It was easy to evoke fleets upon fleets of galleys manned by free men in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but it was considerably more challenging to fill the benches of galleys in the middle of the seventeenth century. The life of Liguria continued to revolve around the sea, and a large proportion of the republic's inhabitants were still involved in maritime activities,[26] but there was no longer a tradition of arming galley fleets. The *nuovo armamento* would have to come to terms with this fact.

The immediate response of the officials in charge of the new armament was to formalize the *capitoli*, the rules concerning the squadron's organization, administration, and discipline. No explicit mention was made of the disaster of the summer of 1642, but the first point of the charter does state that "In order to have the twenty galleys of the new armament not only ready to be armed in times of need, but armed and in service . . . we not only need to find the people but find a way to make them ply their trade willingly."[27] The implicit conclusion drawn from the difficulties encountered in the first free armament was that the oarsmen had lacked the proper motivation. Moved more by avidity than love of country, they lost their will to obey as soon as the possibility of booty from the Corsican villages presented itself. To prevent a reoccurrence, officials enacted a number of measures. Oarsmen were granted the same status and privileges as the soldiers of the republic's elite corps as well as a one-year exemption from the *averia della testa*, a poll tax levied on the *riviere*. This exemption was granted to anyone serving at least two months on a free galley. Safe conduct was granted to

anyone under temporary ban wishing to serve on the galleys. Also one-third of any prizes and plunder was to be distributed among the oarsmen as a supplement to their monthly salary of nine to ten lire.[28] The authors of the regulations were aware, though, that another obstacle prevented recruitment of the best personnel: the stigma attached to rowing galleys due to the long-established practice of using slaves or condemned criminals for the task or, at best, hiring the very dregs of society as *buonavoglia*. In ordering the commissaries of the *nuovo armamento* to compile lists of able-bodied men to be called upon for manning the ships, the magistrates put particular emphasis on the need to "eliminate the repugnance of rowing on the galleys"; hence, they offered not only the privileges of elite soldiers but also the guarantee that the free galleys should always have precedence over the *galere legate*, the galleys manned by men in chains.[29]

A complementary set of regulations was drawn up for the squadron's administrators as well.[30] Here it becomes clear that the magistracy was acutely aware of the truth of at least one of the criticisms listed by Brignole Sale—that the republic had a tradition of squandering moneys earmarked for naval armament. The need to keep accurate account books and to supervise the office's assets is repeated several times, as are exhortations to see to it that debtors and even those citizens who had promised donations made good on their obligations. The officials of the *nuovo armamento* were under obligation to meet twice a week until all twenty of the galleys voted were actually built and the money destined for their construction was spent accordingly. The regulations even include an article urging the magistracy's administrators to propose means of raising further funds to the Senate. Apart, however, from the preoccupation for the armament's financial solvency, two items point to the desire to overcome the setbacks suffered during August 1642: a certain amount of money was to be set aside each year for training eventual personnel, whether sailors or simple oarsmen, and the establishment of a school for future officers was encouraged.

Although officials drew up new rolls in July 1643 and elected officers, they authorized no new missions for that summer. The free galleys did not leave the port, nor were any missions of note made the following year. They did send six free galleys and six *galere legate* on patrol in 1645, and in 1646 assembled a fleet of fifteen galleys. The inadequacies of the republic's arsenal, however, had already become apparent in 1644,[31] and with the assembly of the 1645 squadron the new armament began to show signs of strain as well. In December of that year recourse was made to the Casa di San Giorgio in order to supplement the

"more than ordinary generosity" of the citizens whose contributions had kept the project alive up to that point. For a period of up to ten years, or as long as there was a perceived public need of the extra galleys, officials placed a series of taxes on the wages and salaries of those on the bank's payroll and also collected a percentage of any confiscations made by the institution or its tax farmers and a portion of any discounts given by the bank to those buying the right to collect *gabelle*, all on condition that at least six free galleys be fitted out each year.[32]

In spite of the repeated difficulties and the impossibility of putting the proposed twenty galleys in the water, enthusiasm was still high. In the summer of 1646 the free galleys were still the key to the republic's prestige and hopes for regaining an independent role in the Mediterranean. Examining a pair of proposals concerning the use of the new armament's galleys, we see that the language is more patriotic, but also more exaggerated. "I believe that by now the idea that the maintenance of public freedom depends on maritime forces is firmly established in the minds of all citizens," begins the first of two proposals to send two to four galleys on a voyage to patrol the African coast and search for Barbary or Turkish ships to plunder in the Levant, all for "the glory of the republic and to prove the quality of the galleys . . . and in particular the use of free men."[33] The same old schemes are reproposed: two to four galleys were to be sent out in search of prey (the spoils of which would be split to finance the voyage and to compensate the oarsmen) and then use the return voyage to transport silk from Messina. One of the two proposals even suggests that these galleys be given precedence over any other Genoese vessels loading silk in Messina and that the Collegi underwrite the whole enterprise, covering one-third of all expenses and reaping a third of any profits. Not much had changed in comparison with the projects of 1638, presented in the midst of all the enthusiasm for the Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà. The second of the two proposals, written by Gio Batta Pallavicino, is more prudent, recognizing the possibility of a disastrous outcome for the voyage should the unproven galleys encounter a veteran Turkish squadron. Pallavicino insists, however, on the utility of such a voyage to achieve glory for the republic and, most of all, to provide the free crews with the necessary experience. In the end it was decided not to send the galleys to the Levant, primarily on the grounds that the expense of such a voyage would jeopardize the possibility of arming fifteen galleys that year. At any rate, the desire to use the free galleys as a means to assert the republic's presence in the Mediterranean, in particular in the eastern Mediterranean, was beginning to gain momentum as conflict between Venice and the Ottomans (the Candian

War, 1645–69) began to grow into a solid vehicle for the promotion of the navalists' projects.[34]

When assembled, the squadron of 1646 under the command of Gio Giorgio Giustiniani witnessed an important change that indicated recognition of the failure, at least on a practical level, of the *nuovo armamento*'s original project. On the one hand, oarsmen's salaries were raised to eighteen lire per month and, in order to attract sufficient manpower, amnesty was granted to anyone sentenced to banishment of less than ten years if willing to serve in the galleys.[35] On the other hand, the free oarsmen were mixed with crews of slaves and convicts.[36] The weakness of the project was also apparent on an institutional level, where solid organization was still lacking; the newly elected captains of the free galleys submitted a *supplica* to the Senate in June 1646, in which they expressed not only their perplexity about having been elected but also their concern given the fact that no salary or recompense had been stipulated.[37]

The following year, 1647, witnessed the outbreak of the popular revolts in the Kingdom of Naples and in Sicily and the first real military action for the galleys of the new armament, still manned with mixed crews and again under the command of General Gio Giorgio Giustiniani. While the Doria squadron went to aid in the repression of Masaniello's revolt in Naples, the republic decided to send eleven galleys to help the Spanish regain control of Messina.[38] Curiously enough, the only significant action of the *nuovo armamento*, which was originally seen as part of a formal distancing of the republic from Spain and the enforcement of an effective neutrality, was carried out in an effort to help the Spanish maintain control of their Mediterranean domains. The eventual threat to Genoese traffic in Sicily and the fiefs held by many Genoese citizens in the Kingdom of Naples once again dictated alignment, at least temporarily, with the Habsburg crown.

In November 1648 the finances assigned to the *nuovo armamento* were annulled with a declaration that the "public need had ceased" and the armament of "free galleys" came to a halt.[39] The Peace of Westphalia and the end of the Thirty Years' War provided a convenient excuse to allow the free galleys to fall into disuse, even though the original pretexts for the armament's creation had not changed at all; fighting continued between Spain and France, and the waters before the republic continued to be the scene of harassment, attacks, and depredation with absolutely no heed given to the republic's appeals or claims of sovereignty.[40] Not only had the squadron failed to recreate the Genoese golden age through its mere existence but also failed to increase the republic's maritime

traffic. Its use in the transport of silk never went beyond the capabilities of the standing squadron of six galleys. In the end, the venture also proved to be very costly; a 1646 estimate put the operating costs of the nine free galleys for four months at 325,524 lire, compared with the 332,396 lire total annual expenditures of the Magistrato delle galere during 1643.[41] Lastly, it had to be recognized that the social structure and mentality of the republic's inhabitants, as well as naval technology, had changed since the days of the Crusades or the wars against Pisa and Venice. The complex economic structure of the early modern Republic of Genoa did not allow for the mobilization of nearly all the able-bodied men of Liguria as had been possible during the major medieval campaigns; on the other hand, the galleys of the seventeenth century were incomparably larger than their medieval counterparts and required a great many more men in order to be operative.[42] At midcentury the new armament's officials had listed 5,600 names on the rolls of able-bodied men to be called upon, while it would have required a minimum of 5,200 oarsmen to man the twenty free galleys originally called for, not counting sailors, soldiers, and officers.[43] Even arming nine galleys, the maximum reached by the new armament, represented an unbearable strain on the economic fabric of the *riviere*, not to mention the burden to the state of paying oarsmen's wages, a cost that could not be sustained with any regularity.

The Partial Encounter of Rhetorical Ships and Real Ships on Oceanic Routes

The new armament was not the only maritime project aimed at raising the sorts of the republic during the 1640s. Efforts were being made during that decade to redress the decline in the city's maritime tradition not only through the state fleet but also in what would now be called the "private sector." All the proposals discussed so far concerning state intervention in maritime commerce, from the ideas of building a galleon fleet in 1613 and again in 1632, to the Compagnia di nostra signora and the other proposals of 1638, included passages dedicated to means of reintroducing maritime trade and the *arte marinaresca* in general in Liguria. Little or nothing, however, had come of these projects. The only one that had in part been realized, the Compagnia di nostra signora, was the least likely to provide any stimulus to commerce on a broad scale, being directed at a very limited and specialized trade and, in the end, serving more as a rhetorical exercise concerning questions of a military and political nature than

as an economic venture. The new armament was a continuation of that exercise, and, in spite of the literature prophesying a return to the medieval heyday of trade and plunder in the Levant, in practice no attempts were ever made to use the free galleys on routes to the eastern Mediterranean, or in any other trade for that matter, with the exception of the transport of raw silk from Messina, by that time a consolidated tradition for the Genoese galleys.

A first sign of a serious interest on the part of the republic's rulers to stimulate private maritime trade can be detected in a 1644 law designed to harmonize the relationship between financial capital, shipbuilding, and maritime commerce.[44] The law itself was quite simple; a register was to be kept recording both the loans made for building ships against payment on the ship's first return voyage and the eventual settlement of such loans. While at first glance it may seem fairly insignificant, Gio Domenico Peri, in the second volume of his *Il Negotiante*, published in 1647, claims that "with such a prudent order . . . a hand has been given to the construction of many vessels and the safety of commerce."[45] The reason for such enthusiasm is that the split between finance and shipping by mid-seventeenth century was complete, and shipbuilding activity, and subsequently maritime commerce, depended on the availability of investment capital on the Genoese market. Given such a disjunction between the two sectors of the economy and the lack of regulations on the matter, ample room had been left for fraud and, as a consequence, it had become difficult for would-be shipbuilders to find adequate financial backing for the construction of ships or commercial voyages.[46] The expedient of creating a register of maritime loans was destined to allow for singling out frauds, thus making investment safer and more attractive to those with financial capital to dispose of.

From the ranks of the merchants pressure was also growing for more consistent intervention in maritime affairs, notably the protection of shipping from French and Spanish piracy in the western Mediterranean. Peri himself was optimistic that the republic's trade was bound to grow and reap successes "both public and private" because the "spirit of our forefathers' ancient valor has been reborn in the hearts of the Genoese."[47] Taking the example of the new armament as indicative of the ruling class's willingness to intervene in protecting of the republic's merchants, he also points to the imminent formation of trading companies. The government of the republic, on the other hand, dragged its feet. Deeply involved in developing the *nuovo armamento* and the construction and maintenance of a galley fleet for imaginary naval campaigns against the infidel, so far the republic had turned a deaf ear to calls for the armament of sailing ves-

sels to be used for escorting merchant shipping. Some discussion had in fact been made concerning the acquisition of a state fleet of sailing vessels, but neither in the terms of the past proposals nor for use in escorting convoys; discussions had revolved around the possibility of sending aid, in the form of galleys and galleons, to the Venetians for use in the war being fought in Crete against the Turks.[48] Attention was still directed toward ways of obtaining "glory" for the republic and demonstrating its weight as an independent state in the Mediterranean.

Seen from the point of view of the republic's merchants, though, already in 1644 or 1645, following the capture of the *Riccio* by French privateers (the *Riccio* was a large vessel with a particularly rich cargo, and its loss damaged a number of prominent merchants), there was enough demand for armed escort that an investment in warships and the organization of convoys could even have been profitable for the government. The failure to do so, according to Nicolò Imperiale, cost the republic a sure increase in its maritime commerce.[49] Imperiale was writing in the early 1670s, however, and though his analysis is penetrating, it is very definitely based on the powers of hindsight. According to the contemporary enthusiasm of Gio Domenico Peri, maritime trading companies would soon be formed in Genoa. Not only does he make a none-too-veiled prevision that the state would soon arm a fleet for the transport of merchandise and foodstuffs, but also that companies would be created, "as is the custom elsewhere." Such companies in turn would not only stimulate the construction of numerous sailing vessels but also indirectly bring money into the city's fiscal apparatus, create employment, and serve all Christendom in the rashly unrealistic task of clearing the seas of vessels belonging to "enemies of the faith."[50]

In this context a group of prominent patricians joined to form the Compagnia Genovese delle Indie Orientali, slightly less than a decade after the first voyage of the Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà. The more recent of the companies, the Genoese East India Company, was an even more blatant imitation of the model offered by the northern companies (the Dutch V.O.C. in particular) than its Genoese predecessor had been. Part of a broad series of initiatives to be attributed to the activity of the navalists, the goals of the new company were complementary to those of the new armament, though they did not coincide entirely. Both were, of course, aimed at increasing the Republic of Genoa's presence on the seas, but while any pretexts of increasing the republic's trade by carrying merchandise in the new galleys remained on paper, their primary function being that of improving the state's reputation and regaining

its lost glory, the company was intended to help improve the city's economic fortunes.

The earliest extant document referring to the company dates from March 1647 and mentions that 100,000 scudi had already been invested with the company and that ships had been commissioned for construction in Texel, Holland.[51] In keeping with the company's inspiration, not only were the company's ships commissioned in Holland, but Dutch sailors and pilots were hired to man the ships as well. Nor was there a lack of rhetorical embellishments on the company's mission. In the company's request for a monopoly on shipping to the Indies, made in March 1647, the participants claimed to hold in higher regard "the profits . . . that this trade will bring . . . to the state and customs duties . . . than their own interests" by bringing new merchandise and traffic to the port, which were "no longer hoped for."[52] The request for such rights was justified by relating that "in other parts of the world where similar companies have been made, the promoters have been granted [similar] privileges."[53]

The declared goal of the company, "to open navigation and traffic in the East Indies and, in particular, Japan, its neighbors, and other free and practicable places,"[54] presents a problem that either points to the grave inexperience of the company's founders or indicates the relative insignificance of the end goals of the company relative to its importance as a demonstrative vehicle. Access to Japan in 1647 was no longer free and practicable. In all probability the mention of Japan was merely a ploy in order not to publicize the company's intentions too widely, even though the subsequent course of events does leave some room for doubt as regards the former possibility.

The moment for the venture seemed propitious; France, Spain, and the United Provinces were deeply involved in the Thirty Years' War; Portugal was just emerging from Spanish domination; and England was torn by civil war. Furthermore, Dutch tolerance of the venture was hoped for, especially in light of the protection offered to Dutch shipping by Genoa, even in spite of stiff Spanish opposition. On July 4, 1647, the republic's Senate issued patents to the company's two ships,[55] which set sail on March 3, 1648, and were captured by the Dutch near Batavia in April 1649.[56] The Dutch confiscated the ships, their merchandise, and 312,000 reals in bills of exchange, and the company's brief history came to an end. None of the company's goals, whether openly declared or not, had been reached. Clearly, the capture of the ships had not been expected, and the lengthy negotiations that followed demonstrate the Genoese hopes of Dutch clemency and the return of their ships and valuables. The Ligurian re-

public was in no position to force the situation, though, given the importance of Dutch ships and commerce to its port traffic as well as its substantial dependence on northern grain, carried for the most part by Dutch shipping, for feeding the population of the city and the *riviere*. The United Provinces on the other hand, always courteous in its diplomatic correspondence, showed no qualms about selling off the confiscated vessels, leaving the Genoese with nothing to show for their efforts.

In a final analysis, Genoese success had depended on the benevolence of the Dutch and Portuguese, which was not forthcoming, or on the secrecy of the operation, which, even at best, could not have outlived the first voyage. Moreover, I would argue that benevolence on the part of the Dutch and Portuguese would have been impossible. An extremely important zone of trade for the Dutch, and one where they had always shown themselves willing to use force to further their own interests, the Indian Ocean for the Portuguese represented one of the cornerstones of hope for refloating the newly independent country. In a brief moment of cooperation between the United Provinces and Portugal,[57] the two countries pursued their mutual interests by unhesitatingly eliminating a potential competitor. The surprise to the Genoese is more difficult to explain. They surely would have been equally ruthless in defending their monopoly over the Piacenza fairs had the Dutch tried to conquer a share of that money market in its heyday. In the end they were asking other countries to do something very similar: to sacrifice a portion of a very lucrative trade in the name of some unexplained solidarity with the Genoese.

In spite of the disastrous outcome of the short-lived East India Company, the joint-stock maritime trading company was given yet another try with the formation of the Compagnia marittima di San Giorgio,[58] taking its name from the republic's famous financial institution, itself a sort of joint-stock company,[59] which sustained the state's fiscal structure. Unlike the previous companies, the Company of Saint George received state finances (in the form of a loan from the Bank of Saint George, hence the name) in 1656, which were renegotiated in light of the company's plans to send two ships to Brazil in 1659.[60] In 1656 the bank had offered up to 20,000 lire for the construction of each of up to five ships, to be loaned against credits on the exchange market. By 1659—that is, three years after the concession of the loan and six to ten years after the formation of the company—only two ships had been built, and the representatives of the company asked to be reimbursed for the interest paid (and collected by San Giorgio) on the credits given as collateral (and interest) for the 1656 loan, in

order to assemble the capital necessary for sending two ships to Brazil. The Brazil voyage was made under license from the Portuguese crown as part of a Portuguese convoy and was the only tangible result of ambitious plans to put together six to eight ships connecting the Portuguese colonies with Lisbon and Lisbon with Genoa.[61] It ended with a considerable loss due to the unexpected lack of available return cargoes, a fate shared by all the ships participating in the convoy.

The company continued to exist but enjoyed little success. The company's difficulties in amassing the capital necessary to benefit from the loans made available by the Casa di San Giorgio, or to fit out their ships for the transoceanic effort, indicate its promoters' meager success in breaking into new markets or taking over new routes. In its various attempts to do so, the company found itself to be at a continual disadvantage with respect to the (by then) consolidated presence of the Dutch and, perhaps even more so, to the English. The Genoese no longer had the widespread network of merchants necessary for lining up cargoes and avoiding unnecessary delays when finding and waiting on merchandise in foreign ports—or, at the very least, the company was unable to establish such a network in its areas of interest.

An analysis of the failures of the two companies points to a common misjudgment regarding the model that they overtly imitated and the causes of that model's success. Apart from the gross political miscalculations that led to the immediate failure of the Compagnia delle Indie Orientali, there seems to have been an underlying supposition that oceanic trade was simple, that all one had to do to bring fantastic riches back to Genoa was send out some ships. The surprise demonstrated at the Dutch capture and confiscation of the company's ships indicates that the company's planners had not studied the methods used by every other European power, whether Portuguese or Dutch, English or French, in carving out a slice of the Indian Ocean pie. The Compagnia marittima di San Giorgio seems to have been based on the same erroneous presupposition: the important thing was to put some ships in the water; profits would presumably follow. Again with the expedition to Brazil, the company's representatives hoped "for great sums of money and profit for the entire company, and in consequence much income for the Casa di San Giorgio."[62]

In the end I believe that we have to take the companies' representatives at their word when they claim that their primary goal is not to make a profit but to introduce new traffic and new routes to Genoese commerce, giving a boost to

the republic's shipping and shipbuilding industries along the way. Not only the miscalculations mentioned already, but also the names that appear on the extant documents regarding the two enterprises indicate that they were not projects backed by the merchant community, or at least that they did not originate in merchant circles.[63] For the most part, the backers were nobles active in the government, intent on proving a point, and apparently not very adept at commerce. The political debate concerning maritime policy between the mid-1640s and mid-1650s hinged on the construction of armed sailing vessels capable of penetrating the lucrative Levant and oceanic trade routes, but also of guaranteeing a military presence in the Mediterranean and along the routes plied by merchantmen, a task to which the galleys were not suited. The company format had been proposed time and time again as a means of financing the construction of a number of ships, and the Dutch had been used so often as the example to be imitated that the demonstrative act aimed at arousing public enthusiasm and stimulating the government into action necessarily took the form of the most successful Dutch company, the V.O.C. Of course, the backers of the companies did not intend to fail as they did, but they did not expect to change the city's fortunes single-handedly either. The Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà had not achieved its goals, and yet the *nuovo armamento* had been instituted based on the tenets of the company; only a decent showing was needed, a demonstration of the possibility of oceanic navigation and the viability of the company format as a means of amassing capital for commercial ventures, and the Senate would presumably have been willing to take an active role as well.

As it turned out, as the fifth decade of the seventeenth century drew to a close, not only had the republic's surprisingly concerted effort to relaunch Genoa as a respectable maritime power through the armament of a consistent galley fleet reached the end of its first phase in confused disarray, but the conditions that had led to the decision to arm the new squadron had hardly been modified. The Thirty Years' War had come to an end in 1648, but the conflict between France and Spain was to continue for another twelve years, along with it the intense privateering in the western Mediterranean that seriously compromised hopes of relaunching the Ligurian city as a pole of attraction for long-distance maritime trade. Parallel to the activities of the new armament, discussions had been going on for some time concerning alternative means of ensuring a greater degree of respect for the republic on an international level. With the close of the 1640s, a second phase of activity was about to be set in motion.

Real Ships and Rhetorical Exercises in the Mediterranean

The very first years of the 1650s witnessed a number of events that brought the political climate of Genoa to the seventeenth century's greatest levels of ferment. Naturally, in keeping with the character of the period, both the causes of tension and the relative debates revolved around broadly maritime topics. An episode in the summer of 1650 brought some very old questions to the surface, and another in September of the following year illustrates the degree of change that had come about within the ruling class during the first half of the century.

During the summer of 1650 a Spanish fleet consisting of thirty-three large sailing vessels and thirteen galleys, along with Carlo Doria's squadron of galleys, was patrolling the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy when they spotted a French galley near Longone (then in French hands, but under siege by the Spaniards).[64] The Sicilian squadron was sent to intercept the French vessel but was unable to do so, capturing only the galley's launch. Two galleys, under the command of Carlo Doria's son, Giannettino Doria, lieutenant general of the Naples squadron, left the main body of the fleet to pursue the French galley, which was carrying troops meant to reinforce the garrison at Longone. The French galley reached the port of Bastia in Corsica, where it was granted refuge by the Genoese governor, Gio Bernardo Veneroso. Upon arrival at Bastia and following the proper salute to the republic's standard, Doria notified Veneroso that he had come to assault the French galley and expressed his displeasure that officials of the republic saw fit to protect such "thieves who infest the seas." Veneroso in turn replied that Doria would have to take satisfaction in the fact that the French galley would not be allowed to relieve Longone, but as a neutral power the republic was obliged to protect any vessel taking refuge in its ports. The tension rose when Doria was reinforced by two more galleys and two brigantines, and both sides threatened to bombard one another on account of the French galley, which was moored below the guns of the republic's fortress. It appeared briefly that Veneroso had found a way around the impasse when he ordered the French to leave their vessel, which was then scuttled in appeasement of Spanish fears that the galley would proceed along its way as soon as their ships were out of sight. During the night, though, a Spanish boat passed by the galley and set fire to the part of the ship left above water, thus ensuring that the vessel would remain out of action. This move was considered an outrage against the republic, and as a consequence of such a violation of the republic's sovereignty and in spite of fears

of Spanish reprisals, in early 1651 Giannettino Doria was condemned to death for lese majesty.[65]

The same old questions—including the republic's sovereignty, the rights of the king of Spain's officials, the conflicts caused by the position of Genoese citizens (first of all the Doria) in the service of foreign powers—are all wrapped up very neatly in this episode. In the late sixteenth century Gian Andrea Doria had become unpopular and charges had even been brought against Leonardo Spinola for similar reasons, but in the end no actions were ever taken and no sentences were ever pronounced.[66] Now, even in the face of Philip IV's manifest displeasure, Giannettino Doria was condemned to the most severe punishment possible. The sentence was never carried out, of course, but not because of unforeseen clemency on the republic's part, but rather because Giannettino was careful not to set foot on republican soil.

Roughly a year later, in late August or early September 1651, some privateers from Nice captured a Spanish merchantman carrying wheat from Sardinia to Spain, or so they thought.[67] The ship's capture created a diplomatic incident between the Duke of Savoy and the Republic of Genoa because the latter claimed that the ship in question was in fact a Genoese ship and not a Spanish one as had been supposed. The reasoning went as follows: the owners of the ship were Genoese, even though their families had settled in Cagliari more than sixty years before the incident, and the merchants who had ordered the shipment were Genoese, even though their ancestors had settled in Seville more than a century earlier. Again, the contrast with certain pronouncements of the late sixteenth century could hardly be greater. When convenient, the republic had in the past denied responsibility for the actions even of its resident citizens and their galleys in the name of a contractual relationship that those men had with the Spanish monarchy.[68] The republic was now seeking responsibility where such responsibility was at best debatable in order to create precedents for more and more tenacious claims of sovereignty, a sign of the determination of the republic's rulers at midcentury to demonstrate their independence from Spain and their role as an autonomous power in the Mediterranean.

If this had been only an isolated case, then the somewhat blurry question of the ship's nationality would probably never have amounted to much. The year 1651, however, was not a good one for Genoese shipping, and acts of piracy against the Genoese had become intolerable, reaching the highest levels in more than a decade.[69] Within the city of Genoa, merchants called for measures going

beyond the usual diplomatic tangle for the protection of shipping. In fact, with six or seven years' delay in relation to the merchants' outcries,[70] in June 1651 the Senate voted to arm six galleons for escorting convoys of merchant ships. The plan for buying the ships, however, did not get the Casa di San Giorgio's approval[71] and would probably have dissolved in idle talk as had so many previous projects if not for two more events that profoundly shook the interests of the city.

The first occurred in September when one of Carlo Doria's[72] galleys was stopped and searched by the Spanish in Cartagena. Officially Doria was transporting 370 cases of silver on behalf of the king, but the Spanish officials found a great deal more bullion on board than was accounted for in the ship's registers. Genoese galleys, both public and private, regularly transported bullion on behalf of the crown, and as can be clearly seen in the orders given by the republic to its captains, the galleys regularly carried "contraband" bullion,[73] the by-product of a heavy trade imbalance but also the fruit of a widespread disinvestment trend on the part of Genoese financiers determined to save the savable amid the monetary chaos of Philip IV's Spain. And precisely because of that chaos the Spanish had apparently become unwilling to tolerate the continued drain of precious metals from their country. The second event came in December when two very rich ships, the *Marabotta* and the *Sansone*, together with their cargoes worth more than 2 million lire, were captured by French pirates. The two blows struck the Genoese economy across the board. The money blocked on Doria's galley belonged in part to merchants, payment for merchandise delivered in Spain, and in part to *factores* needing to transfer funds to Milan and to Flanders. In the case of the two ships captured in December, in addition to 100,000 scudi worth of wool, the *Marabotta* was said to be carrying more than 500,000 pieces of eight and the *Sansone* a great deal of silver as well. "The loss goes to a large degree to the *popolo* and to the merchants, and to the nobility too, but it is quite widespread and everyone feels [its effects]."[74]

The decision to buy the galleons, then, did not represent a final acceptance of the programs sketched out in 1613 or in the 1630s for state-subsidized shipping. They were built to respond to a much more immediate problem. In fact, I believe that the reasons for the Casa di San Giorgio's initial refusal to approve financing for a squadron of galleons is to be found in their unwillingness to embark on similar expensive programs. Their financing of the *nuovo armamento* of galleys had been belated and brief and that project's poor results can only have influenced the bank negatively when presented with the prospect of

underwriting yet another unprecedented maritime venture under the auspices of the state. The financial stability of the bank, however, was based primarily on the city's customs duties and therefore on port traffic. As a result it could only suffer from the piratical acts carried out against shipping in the Ligurian Sea. At the time, though, the Casa was also experimenting with alternative ways of circumventing the problem.[75]

It was estimated that since the capture of the *Riccio* in the mid-1640s nearly 20 million lire had been lost to French pirates. Maritime insurance rates ran generally at 14 percent, reaching peaks as high as 60 percent and the Genoese economy risked being suffocated.[76] Damage was not limited solely to trade, however. If the Spanish continued to search Genoese galleys, the financial pillar of the economy (the one dearest to many members of the oligarchy) was destined to suffer as well. Galleys had always been used for the transport of gold and silver due to their speed and ability to outrun corsairs, but now Spanish port officials posed an even greater threat than French pirates. In late December Ugo Fieschi, prominent navalist, offered to provide personally four galleons with 300 soldiers each for escorting convoys of merchant shipping. Given the fact that unlike the galleys, galleons could wait for long periods of time a few miles off the coast where port officials could never check the quantities of precious metals on board, there was general agreement on the choice of the ship type.[77]

Discussions now revolved around whether the problem's solution should be left to private initiative or be assigned to the public sphere. Because the feasibility of Fieschi's proposition depended on having the ability to place a surcharge on goods transported in the convoy, it met considerable opposition from the deputation created to study the possibility of organizing convoyed shipping.[78] In the end the task was left in state hands, and a compromise was reached with the Casa di San Giorgio in late December 1651 for financing four galleons.[79] In 1652 the same Ugo Fieschi was sent to Holland to ensure that the vessels were built and fitted out to order.[80] The republic's navalists would have preferred to have the ships built in the republic, in keeping with the rhetoric of relaunching the Ligurian maritime tradition, but the ships were ordered in the United Provinces instead. This was not entirely due to the longer construction times in Genoa, as suggested by Costantini;[81] it also committed the republic financially to the ships' purchase. The project's supporters feared that it would be annulled as soon as the officials in the maritime magistracies were rotated out of office.[82]

As it turned out, the amount of time necessary for obtaining the ships was

very long indeed. The outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch war caused delivery of the first three vessels to be delayed until 1654, and the republic would have to wait until December 1655 for the fourth one.[83] In the meantime, initiative still lay in the hands of the navalists, who persevered in their attempts to increase the state's role in maritime questions. While negotiations continued with the Casa di San Giorgio in order to obtain further financial assistance for the acquisition and armament of the galleons,[84] it was decided to instate a galley route connecting Genoa with Spain using the state galleys. Three galleys under the command of Alessandro Grimaldi were sent to Spain in April 1652 carrying 1.4 million scudi in goods, primarily silken cloths, as well as a number of passengers with their personal possessions. In light of the losses of 1651, this voyage represented the state's commitment to keeping traffic with Spain open "to the incredible consolation of the entire city."[85] In fact, while construction of the galleons moved ahead slowly, attention fell once more on the galleys and the possibility of arming a considerable number of them to remedy the republic's plight. The idea of putting a squadron of ten galleys in the water arose again in 1652, and new schemes for manning such a squadron began to circulate.[86] Again in 1653 the republic sent four galleys to Cádiz, under the command of Gio Batta Raggio, but this time the Spanish intimated that henceforth the republic's galleys would be treated as private merchantmen and, if necessary, would be searched for contraband.[87] As a response, the Genoese decided to crack down on Spanish contraband in the Ligurian Sea. In June 1653 a large brigantine with seven cannon and twelve *spingardi* (a small breech-loading cannon mounted along the ship's gunwale) was sent to patrol the western *riviera* in order to intercept smugglers bringing goods, primarily salt, into Finale without paying the necessary *gabella* to the Casa di San Giorgio.[88]

In spite of the fact that the primary stimulus for the decisions of the early 1650s was that of protecting the republic's maritime trade, as in the 1640s, a political and diplomatic aspect of the projects was far from lacking. The republic had, since 1645, been negotiating the possibility of sending aid to Venice for the war in Crete against the Turks.[89] The whole political strategy of the Genoese navalist policy was brought into evidence over the course of these negotiations: from the desire to find a new position for the republic on the checkerboard of international alliances, definitively distancing itself from Spain politically, to assertions of "royal" status as a sovereign state; from plans to build a consistent military presence in the Mediterranean to efforts to reestablish lost trading links in the Levant. The first obstacle to sending republican galleys to join the

Venetian cause was overcome in 1647 when the Venetians officially requested Genoese aid addressing the Genoese with the title *serenissima*, thus recognizing the equal status of the two republics. The question of the order of precedence given to the galleys of various nations sending forces remained to be resolved, though. The Venetians even suggested that the Genoese galleys fly a Venetian standard in addition to the Genoese one in order to ensure precedence over the Maltese and the galleys of the papacy, but the Genoese refused, preferring a clear sign of precedence over the Knights of Saint John.[90]

The minutes of the February 1647 debates in the Minor Consiglio allow us to add some names to the list of the supporters of the navalist program, but they also help to put that group's objectives in focus. Both Uberto Raggio and Gio Bernardo Veneroso were in favor of sending ships and soldiers at Venice's expense (Raggio suggests twelve galleys and six galleons, Veneroso twelve to fifteen galleys), using the occasion as a means of financing a Genoese military buildup and at the same time cutting into the Levant trade; Raffaele Della Torre proposed sending ten or twelve if not twenty galleys "because this . . . would be quite becoming of the Serene Republic's declaration of royal honors both inside and outside the state." Anton Giulio Brignole Sale would send ten galleys "for Christ's cause and the defense of His faith." Gio Batta Lazagna and Giacomo Filippo Durazzo were more cool in their support of the proposal. Gerolamo De Marini, on the other hand, opposed the plan on the grounds that he "would like to be sure of having clear precedence over the Maltese galleys" and because "the republic's aid to the Venetians would be too little for their needs."[91] By April 1647 Agostino Pallavicino, Luca Chiavari, and Raffaele Giustiniani had added their names to the list of those in favor of sending ships to the Venetians.[92]

No final agreement was reached, and Gio Bernardo Veneroso, probably the most outspoken exponent of the navalist political line, took it upon himself to negotiate the possibility of sending aid to Venice and put together a sort of package deal. In February 1648 the Senate offered him six of the galleys of the new armament to be fitted out and manned at his expense and hired out to the Venetians. In such an arrangement, however, the Senate of Genoa was to retain the possibility of recalling Veneroso should they deem it necessary.[93] Negotiations proceeded, and in 1651 we find Veneroso promising to provide seven galleys and four galleons to the Venetians together with a financial arrangement for underwriting the expedition. Veneroso promised to line up credit for 300,000 scudi *sopra cambi* that the Venetians could use to pay the expenses of the Genoese fleet. Acting as a private individual, Gio Bernardo Veneroso posed the condi-

tions that, first, the Genoese Senate approve the project and, second, that the Venetians formally ask the republic for aid using the title of *serenissima*.[94] Common opinion gave Veneroso very few chances of success, even though the Senate had offered to provide the vessels, artillery, and munitions, leaving to Veneroso, regarding the ships themselves, the sole cost of paying any damages and deterioration. There were also serious doubts as to his ability to find oarsmen for seven galleys, and to command them effectively when found, and it was doubted that he would be able to recruit anyone willing to loan the Venetians 300,000 scudi on the exchange fairs for financing the venture.

In October 1651 Veneroso was also given permission to raise troops in the *dominio*. The Senate too had voted to send six galleons (which did not yet exist) at the Republic of Genoa's expense and to allow the Venetians to arm a further four in Genoa at their own expense.[95] Veneroso had even found 200,000 of the 300,000 scudi necessary to finance his undertaking.[96] Sometime during the following six months, however, Veneroso apparently overstepped his limits, surpassing the degree of private initiative the Senate was willing to tolerate. His efforts were condemned in March 1652 for having interfered with Genoa's official negotiations with the Republic of Venice.[97] Discussions continued, but no Genoese aid was ever sent to relieve the Venetian forces on Crete.

Gio Bernardo Veneroso provided the most clamorous example of a private citizen acting on his own initiative to pursue the political objectives of the navalists, but he was not an isolated case. Others were arming ships as well and seeking glory in the Levant by trying to reconquer a place for the Genoese through heroic deeds against "the enemies of the faith." In 1655 we find Ippolito Centurione, later identified with the magistracy of the new armament and the republic's galleons, at the command of two of his own sixty-gun vessels attacking Turkish shipping in the eastern Mediterranean,[98] and of course Ugo Fieschi's offer to personally organize a convoy service in 1651 is another example of the willingness of private individuals to take on the tasks they wanted the state to perform. Another odd example is provided in 1650 by the obscure Gio Batta Pluma (or Piuma) Campodonego who, after seventeen years in the service of the Spanish, asked for and received status as *capitano di guerra* and permission to fly the republic's standard from his ships.[99] Campodonego's request seems, however, to be an indicator of another factor then at play in the Mediterranean: given the ongoing conflict between France and Spain and the republic's neutrality, the Genoese standard became more attractive. Captain Campodonego was arming warships with the declared intent of plundering the Barbary Coast

and shipping, and therefore he probably had relatively little to fear from the French and Savoyard privateers who marauded the merchant shipping between Italy and Spain. Given the continued conflict between France and Spain, though, and the disintegration of Spanish hegemony, the republic's standard and patents represented a liberty of action that the Spanish flag no longer offered.

If the republic really wanted to count for anything on a European or even on a Mediterranean scale, however, the time to act had come. Gio Batta Raggio saw the republic's opportunity to be "the kernel that tips the balance in favor of the side it is in,"[100] but such conditions were to last only as long as there was no clearly dominant force in Europe. In 1651 and 1652 the Dutch had sent armed fleets to the Mediterranean, and in September 1652 the Minor Consiglio voted 170 to 6 in favor of allowing the Dutch warships free access to the republic's ports, with the sole exception of the city of Genoa.[101] In 1653 it was even suggested that the republic seek to form an improbable alliance among republics: Genoa, Venice, the United Provinces, and England (the latter two states then being at war with one another).[102]

The year 1654 opened the crucial period for the navalists' political program. Relations with Spain, which had been growing ever more strained,[103] broke down completely in the early months of that year. Spanish privateers operating from Finale captured a number of French boats in the Ligurian Sea, and, in keeping with its claims of sovereignty over those waters, the republic pressed for the restitution of those boats. Then, when the Genoese captured and confiscated a number of boats caught carrying contraband goods to Finale, the Spanish reacted by confiscating the goods, credit, and income held by Genoese in the Spanish realms of Italy.[104] The initial Genoese reaction was very firm. Talk of arming galleys and raising troops for an eventual armed conflict with the Spanish spread quickly through the city, and a number of prominent citizens even began to contribute substantial amounts of money to prepare for war.[105] The affront to the entire city was in fact so great that even the Duke of Tursi, Carlo Doria, offered to lend his squadron of galleys to the republic should the conflict come to arms (however, the republic did not trust Doria enough to use his galleys, which were ordered to remain in port). The republic's willingness to radicalize the conflict, even on the part of its governors, soon became clear. On May 26, 1654, the Collegi called a consultation in the Minor Consiglio in order to hear the opinions of all of the higher council's members, who unanimously declared their desire to defend the republic's liberty "to the last breath."[106] On May 27 a number of resolutions were passed by the Maggior Consiglio delin-

eating Genoa's plan of action. The council voted to increase the number of galleys in the regular squadron to ten, but also to buy ten sailing vessels (four of which were to be men-of- war).[107] Orders were given for a new contingent of 7,000 troops to be raised, permission was given to the Colleges to make war on anyone offending the republic ("a chi volesse oltraggiare la Republica"); permission was granted to the private vessels of both *riviere* to respond to the aggressions of the Finarini, the inhabitants of Finale; and four galleys were sent to reinforce the patrols against smugglers. Perhaps more important though, it was also decided to send ambassadors to Rome, France, and England as well as the other Italian states to present the republic's case against the Spanish. Furthermore, Genoese citizens were forbidden to contract *asientos* and to effectuate payments to foreign rulers. All trade was suspended between Genoa and the Duchy of Milan and between the republic and the Kingdom of Naples. It was also suggested that an alliance be drawn up between the republic and Venice.[108]

Seven months later, in December 1654, the first three ships ordered by the republic were delivered in Holland, and the first convoy was organized between Genoa and Cádiz in April 1655 with the participation of fourteen vessels: eleven merchantmen and the republic's three galleons.[109] The political break with Spain hoped for by generations of Genoese politicians desirous of a more independent role for the republic had finally come about. The republic could finally vaunt the possession of its long-awaited squadron of sailing vessels and the ability to protect its shipping. The very fact, though, that the first organized convoy was destined to Cádiz, and that participation in that convoy was high, indicates that the break with Spain could not endure, nor could a radical solution be sought. While in the end the Spanish ceded to Genoese economic pressure, it was clear that Genoese commerce was still too heavily anchored to relations with Spain to allow the situation to continue. In fact, the more bellicose elements of the Maggior Consiglio's program were left on paper, and the campaign against Spain took on decidedly diplomatic tones. Not that the campaign went without successes, either; on this occasion France recognized the republic's claims to royal status, and relations were significantly improved with the English.[110] While the 1655 settlement between the Spanish crown and the Republic of Genoa brought about the restitution of Genoese goods and interests in Milan and Naples as well as recognition of Genoese rights to tax salt brought into Finale, the more extreme elements of the nobility regretted the republic's reluctance to exploit the situation in order to gain possession of the Marquisate of Finale itself.[111]

The year 1655, then, witnessed a return to normality and a dramatic drop in participation in the state-organized convoys: each of the convoys formed to sail from Genoa to Cádiz in December 1655 and April 1656 comprised only two merchantmen escorted by a single galleon.[112] There was still a compact group of patriotic oligarchs interested in maintaining the fleet of galleons, but primarily for use in pursuing a more adventurous approach to making the republic's presence felt on an international level. The chance to use the new galleons in this manner presented itself when an old question arose again in late 1655 that provided a pretext for putting the new warships to use. On November 20 three Maltese galleys were forced by foul weather to take refuge in the port of Genoa. Upon entering the port they fired a salute to some Spanish galleys that were moored in the port, but they refused to salute the republic's *capitana*, which was in port as well. Genoese insistence that a salute be fired met with continued resistance from the Maltese until they were threatened with bombardment from the artillery placed in defense of the port. Under threat of bombardment and under protest, the Maltese capitulated, firing a salute to the Genoese flagship.[113] Angered by the episode, on their return voyage the Maltese captured a Genoese merchantman and harassed other shipping in the Ligurian Sea.

Either encouraged by their recent successes or enraged by the behavior of the Knights of Saint John in the wake of this episode in the city's port, early the following year the republic sent out a fleet of ten galleys and the four new galleons with orders to forcibly extract a Maltese salute on the high seas.[114] The expedition did little to give the republic a higher profile in international politics. The squadron of galleys turned out to be reminiscent of the worst efforts made by the *nuovo armamento* in the 1640s. The Senate's deliberation called for a squadron of twelve galleys, making use of free oarsmen mixed with the slaves and convicts who manned the six galleys kept in regular service. Of the twelve ordered, only ten were able to take part in the mission. As a means of encouraging recruitment the oarsmen had been paid in advance, with the result that many did not show up at the appointed time, and two galleys had to be left behind. Furthermore, given the lack of experience among the free oarsmen, when the galleys returned to Genoa "they looked more like hospitals than galleys, with [the entire crew] sick, some because they [were not] fit for this exercise, the free oarsmen, and some from too much fatigue, the chained oarsmen."[115]

The proponents of the aggressive approach to casting a new military and economic role for Genoa were not soon to get another chance. In June 1656 the first cases of plague broke out in Genoa in what was to be the city's worst epi-

demic of the century. The city's population had been growing steadily since an epidemic of the plague in 1580 had reduced the number of inhabitants to 47,688. This figure had risen to 61,225 in 1597 and to 72,853 in 1638. When the epidemic of 1656–57 had finished and those who fled the city had returned, the number of inhabitants amounted to merely 40,000.[116] Port traffic came to an almost complete halt for nearly two years. An equally devastating result, as far as the public armament was concerned, was the death of slaves and convicts used to row the galleys (and used to bury the dead in times of plague): only 22 survived.[117]

The plague of course did not only affect the convicts and slaves; commerce was severely damaged by the extended period during which the port was closed and the loss of many of the city's merchants (many of whom resettled in Livorno during the epidemic, carrying with them a portion of the city's trade). Not until September 1658 was another "convoy" organized (one galleon and one merchantman), with Palermo as its end destination. When the idea of sending aid to the Venetians was brought up again in 1658, one of the most often repeated reasons for sending ships was that "the sailors are now without work" and that the "ships are deteriorating without sailing."[118] While the Venetians were now more interested in financial aid than in offers of ships and men, the Genoese insisted on sending an armed contingent for the fight against the Turks.[119] Negotiations, however, again stalled over questions of diplomatic protocol, and, as in the past, nothing was done.[120] Only in January 1659 was a substantial convoy again put together, one galleon and six merchantmen sailing for Cádiz.[121] The ambitions of the original project were curtailed when the entire program suffered two serious setbacks in 1660. In July funding for the convoys was cut in half, and the number of ships to be kept active was reduced to only two,[122] and then on November 8, 1660 the two vessels in service, the *San Bernardo* and the *San Giovanni Battista*, which were escorting a single merchantman, sank in a storm off the Spanish coast.[123]

On paper, the organization of convoys had been conceived as a means of protecting the predominant routes traveled by Genoese merchants in the western Mediterranean, and the possibility of extending them to the Levant was even hoped for by the project's more ambitious supporters. The first route to be implemented was the one linking Genoa to Cádiz, a route that was to be extended to Lisbon, thus connecting the Ligurian port with the centers of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial trades (where some hoped to see the Maritime Company of Saint George become a protagonist). The republic's escort never was actually

extended beyond Cádiz, though. Apart from brief moments of broad participation in the convoys (ten merchant vessels convoyed to Cádiz in November 1659, nine in 1670, and ten in 1671) and the moderate degree of participation between 1664 and 1665 (fourteen merchantmen on three voyages from Genoa to Cádiz, and it should also be noted that due to the trade imbalance between Genoa and Spain and the consequent difficulty of finding return cargoes, participation on the return journey was always inferior to that of the voyage out),[124] the state-organized convoys never reached the levels of participation that their sponsors had hoped for. Nor were they ever financially self-sufficient.[125] Convoys continued to be organized, though, until 1680 when the practice was abandoned, and in 1689 the republic's last galleon was sold.[126] Over the course of their twenty-five-year existence, the public convoys accounted for roughly 1.22 million cantari of shipping on outward journeys from Genoa (565,000 of which in the state-owned galleons) and roughly 1 million cantari arriving in the port (600,000 of which in the galleons).[127] In other words, during the entire span of their existence, the convoys accounted for the transport of a quantity of merchandise roughly equivalent to the amount of goods entering and exiting the port in the year of 1655 alone,[128] and more than half of that volume was carried in the public galleons rather than in merchantmen under escort.

Given the general demand for the organization of convoys during the 1640s, why did such convoys not enjoy greater success when they were finally put together in the 1650s? And given the relative scarcity of participation in the convoys, why was the service maintained for so long? The first of these questions can be answered with recourse to developments that took place outside the republic. Due to the hostilities between England and the United Provinces in the 1650s, as well as the fact that the shipping of those two nations was exposed to depredations by the Spanish, French, and Barbary pirates as much as Genoese shipping, the northern countries began organizing convoys as well. Originally nothing more than groups of armed merchantmen sailing together for mutual protection, by midcentury English convoys were escorted by military vessels.[129] Furthermore, when the Spanish embargoes against the United Provinces were lifted in 1647, Dutch marine insurance and freight rates fell enormously, and consequently the proportion of Mediterranean trade carried in Dutch vessels rose dramatically.[130] Many merchants must have felt safer under the protection of an English or Dutch flag, which often represented a savings in shipping and insurance costs as well. Other elements playing against the convoys were the extreme slowness with which they were organized, a slowness that could delay

shipments for weeks or even months and, a characteristic of all convoys regardless of nationality, their adverse effect on the buying and selling prices of merchandise. The concentration of goods in a convoy tended to flood markets upon the convoy's arrival in a foreign port, lowering the selling price of the goods carried on the voyage out; in like manner, the concentration of merchants seeking return cargoes tended to drive up the prices of goods to be carried on the return trip. As for the voyages themselves, the convoys could only travel as fast as their slowest component, so the captains of relatively fast ships could make much better time sailing alone. Consequently, participation in the convoys tended to be concentrated only in the years of greatest danger from pirates and privateers, especially during periods of tension between the English and the Dutch, when the republic's neutrality made the Genoese convoy attractive to merchants of the belligerent nations.

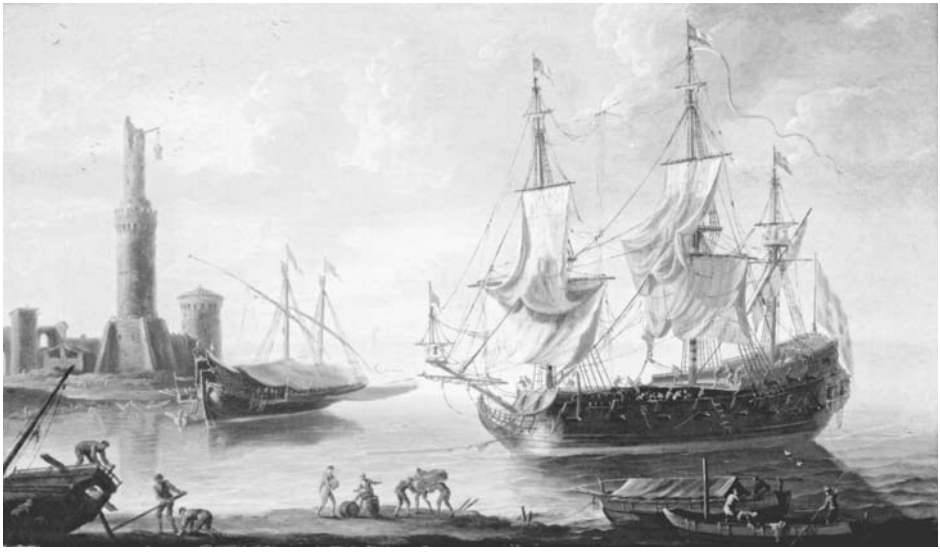
The second question is perhaps more interesting as far as an analysis of the Genoese case is concerned. Why did the convoy service continue even with such scarce participation on the part of merchant vessels? The patriotic discourses of the navalists who drove so hard to acquire the ships in order to benefit the republic's reputation do not help to explain the obstinacy in sending the vessels back and forth to Spain. In spite of the stubborn firmness of the republic's position regarding the precedence of its galleys over those of other nations and the insistence on punctilious questions of diplomatic protocol, the Collegi were willing to order the galleons to lower the standard in salute to vessels of "any nation or armada."[131] Questions of patriotic pride had clearly been subordinated to some more urgent mission. Furthermore, it is striking that of the forty voyages organized by the republic only four had a destination other than Cádiz, and one of those four voyages was directed to Alicante. The flowing rhetoric and the abundance of projects for forging trading links with the eastern Mediterranean and reestablishing ties with the Ottoman Empire, as far as state-sponsored shipping was concerned, all boiled down to a single voyage made by four vessels to Istanbul and Smyrna in 1666. The real raison d'être for the convoys and the continued maintenance of the galleons was to be found elsewhere.

The Spanish port officials had continued to search Genoese galleys (whether privately owned or part of the republican squadron) for contraband bullion and coins,[132] and a different solution had to be found for extracting money from Spain. With the pretext of awaiting the formation of a convoy, the galleons could wait for long periods of time off the coast where they could load silver without having to worry about the threat of inspections or confiscation. The fact

that the galleons carried considerable amounts of bullion from Spain to Genoa is amply demonstrated both by the orders given to the ships' captains to "embark any moneys, bars [of silver], and merchandise for which permission has not been granted in spite of what is written to the contrary in the instructions" and to "keep a secret register" of such contraband to be consigned to the Senate upon return to Genoa, and by the account books of the Magistrato del nuovo armamento.[133] Therefore, the convoys should not be judged on the volume of goods they carried, a rather small proportion of total port traffic, nor should they be considered a failure simply because they did not contribute to the opening of new markets or an increase in the republic's political weight in the international scheme of things.

Whatever the intentions of their original proponents, the navalists of the 1640s and 1650s, the galleons soon found their own very important niche and proved to be quite useful to the republic. Even the final suspension of the convoys should not be seen as the end of the Genoese ability to squeeze money out of Spain, but rather the end of the need for governmental coverage of the operation. Private vessels had also carried bullion all along[134] and by the 1680s were apparently well enough armed and organized to be able to do so without the services of the state. Another important alternative to the Genoese convoys, even in the function of transporting contraband silver, was represented by the Dutch convoys. Again, a great deal of silver was entrusted to Dutch vessels long before the demise of the Genoese convoys; in 1663, for example, the arrival of the Dutch convoy brought with it from Spain 400,000 pieces of eight destined for Genoese merchants and bankers.[135] With the passage of Dutch convoys from Spain to Genoa four to five times a year[136] and the perceived greater safety of Dutch shipping, at least as regards French privateering (the Dutch certainly embodied a greater potential threat in the case of serious incidents than did the tiny fleet of the Republic of Genoa), this alternative was much more convenient both for those wishing to transport merchandise and those transferring precious metals.

During the two and a half decades after the experience of the Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà the ruling class of the Republic of Genoa showed a surprising unity of intent in its repeated efforts to modify the fortunes of the nation's presence at sea and of the shipping under the banner of Saint George. The fundamental goals and presuppositions that lay behind the various projects—ranging from the armament of the free galleys to the formation of private



A Dutch sailing vessel and a galley at anchor. Museo Navale di Genova. (Photo courtesy of Musei Civici, Genova; Archivio Fotografico del Comune di Genova.)

joint-stock companies and the organization of convoyed shipping—were the same as those underlying the projects of the previous decades. The difference lay in the fact that the proposals of the 1640s and 1650s found sufficient support within the republic's ruling class to be put into effect. The old divisions along factional lines that had determined the political geography of sixteenth-century Genoa had slowly given way during the first third of the seventeenth century to alignments characterized by varying conceptions of the state and differing views concerning the republic's position in the international system of states. By the 1640s even those divisions between "pro-Spanish" or "pro-independence" (*repubblichista*) positions were beginning to cede. While open breaks with Spain were slow in coming, and even then short-lived, given the continued commercial interests tying Genoa to the Iberian Peninsula and Spanish markets, continued arrogance and interference in the republic's affairs, not least of all maritime commerce,[137] had paved the way for the lengthy period of navalist predomination in Genoese politics.

The common denominator uniting the efforts to reestablish a maritime role for the republic during the central decades of the seventeenth century is to be found in the names of the various projects' promoters. Considering the pre-

dominantly political nature of the project to arm "free galleys," it is no surprise that the advocates of that scheme were members of the oligarchy. But the names associated with the companies discussed, the East India Company and the Maritime Company of Saint George, demonstrate that those ventures, too, were first of all products of a group of oligarchs. And, as we have seen, when the merchants of the city called for the armament of a squadron of sailing vessels, their appeals fell on deaf ears. Only when broader interests were touched by Spanish port officials did the idea of convoyed shipping gather enough support to become a reality.

The successes and failures of the projects, then, tell us as much about the Genoese oligarchy as they do about the world of the seventeenth-century Mediterranean. The first lesson is that the republic's ruling class was very far removed from the reality of Liguria's seafaring men and from the day-to-day world of maritime commerce. In the end, the gross miscalculations over the possibility of amassing the numbers of professional sailors and oarsmen necessary for arming twenty free galleys were not so very different from the errors underlying the disastrous voyage of the Compagnia Genovese delle Indie Orientali or the lackluster performance of the Compagnia marittima di San Giorgio. In both cases the aristocratic organizers failed to realize that the world of the seventeenth century and its commercial and economic mechanisms did not correspond to the preestablished model chosen by the same aristocrats. In the first case the social structure of early modern Ligurian society did not allow for the massive recruitment necessary for arming galleys, as had been possible in the medieval period and as foreseen in the model dear to the republic's officials (not to mention the difference in numbers of men necessary to equip a seventeenth-century galley as opposed to a medieval one). Nor did the recruits have the same training and motivation as their predecessors of the "golden age." In the second case, the behavior of the Dutch was the direct cause of the company's failure. The Dutch chose to defend their own trade routes and markets and were not prepared to tolerate interlopers—an easily foreseen eventuality that the company's promoters had overlooked entirely, preoccupied as they were with the mirage of the joint-stock company as the key to success. Finally, the Compagnia marittima di San Giorgio did not get past the difficult encounter with an economic reality characterized by trade routes, commercial networks, and organizations that were not contemplated by the "reawakened Ligurian genius."

These failures, and the errors of judgment behind them, all go to demon-

strate the reality of the problem that the republic's rulers were trying to redress: Genoese and Ligurian society had undergone a transformation that had left the maritime tradition behind. Ligurian society was still strongly linked to the sea and maritime activities, but the tradition that saw the Genoese nobility active in maritime commerce and shipbuilding and providing the capital behind an active presence on the sea had come to an end. The very clumsiness of the attempts to revive such a tradition indicate the degree to which it was a thing of the past. The oversights of the first phase of the *nuovo armamento* and the obstinacy with which the ideal of the "golden age" was held as valid indicate the distance between the oligarchy and naval questions. The idea of launching maritime companies without precise objectives or commercial contacts was not the product of men with experience in trade. In the end, the only navalist project to meet with success, the organization of the state-protected convoys, was a very limited success indeed if judged in terms of the goals of its most ardent supporters. Only a series of conjunctures within the broader circumstances of midcentury were able to provide enough ships for a decent convoy, and the ships were never seriously employed against "the enemies of the faith" for the greater glory of the Republic of Genoa. Born amid nostalgia for the adventures of an ever-more-remote past, it was the less-than-glorious job of siphoning bullion out of Spain that was to ensure the survival of the republic's tiny squadron of galleons for thirty years.

CHAPTER SIX

Galleons, Galleys, and the Free Port

Ships and Power in a Little Country

Despite the increasing distance between Genoa's oligarchs and the direct experience of maritime commerce during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, members of the ruling class sought to revive the republic's medieval maritime tradition, hoping to recapture the influence and commercial might that the city-state had enjoyed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Whether advocating state subsidies for shipbuilding and commerce, the formation of companies or knightly orders, or direct state involvement in shipping and shipbuilding, the oligarchs uniformly proposed projects that tapped the resources of Genoese-Ligurian society and contained some form of positive action.

Over the course of the same period of time, a different policy instrument evolved. Born as a pragmatic, transitory solution to what was perceived as a temporary crisis, during the seventeenth century the Genoese free port slowly became an innovative policy tool capable of exploiting Genoese wealth and the importance of the city as a significant market in itself, in order to influence the Mediterranean world in a way that the positive approaches to sea power simply were unable to do. Abandoning the more or less chronological structure of our

Genoa in the early eighteenth century. Engraving. (Photo courtesy of Musei Civici, Genova; Archivio Fotografico del Comune di Genova.)

story thus far, we must now turn our attention once again to the final decades of the sixteenth century.

Questions of clientele, power, and even jurisdiction over the sea were surely of paramount importance to the sixteenth-century rulers, but a very concrete problem of vital importance also loomed ominously on the agendas of Italian states during the last two decades of the sixteenth century. A series of bad harvests throughout Italy between 1586 and 1590 exacerbated the difficulties already inherent in supplying the barren Ligurian coastal regions with a sufficient food supply,[1] and the traditional methods of provisioning the city and the *riviere* with cereals began to break down. Following the loss of most of their colonies in the eastern Mediterranean over the course of the fifteenth century, the Genoese had sought to guarantee their food supply through the exaction of privileges to export grain from lands controlled by the Spanish crown, privileges granted in return for services rendered by Genoese galleys and bankers.[2] As Edoardo Grendi points out, though, given their overwhelming dependence on

imported foodstuffs the Genoese were not willing to rely on merely a single source of cereals, and continued throughout the sixteenth century to search for additional grain markets where supplementary loads of wheat could by bought. Grain merchants, therefore, did not concentrate solely on Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples but also on Provence and sporadically the Ottoman Empire.[3] Efforts, then, to find alternative sources of grain other than Sicily and the other Spanish possessions should not be seen as a part of the attempts to maintain a certain degree of political autonomy from the Spanish but merely as part of long-standing and prudent practice.

During the late sixteenth century, the series of crop failures in the Mediterranean when combined with Genoa's desire to build up the state squadron of galleys led to a confused array of projects and reforms whose significance would only become fully apparent several decades later. Attempts were made simultaneously to stimulate the republic's own cereal production, to extend the republic's ability to project itself onto the sea (and thus to intercept or escort grain shipments), and to render the city more attractive to foreign grain merchants.

The potential difficulties, at least on a fiscal level, of a simultaneous military buildup and attempts to increase port traffic had been highlighted in the Minor

Consiglio as early as 1568. In the previously mentioned debates on rearmament during the rebellion in Corsica, one councillor warned against raising customs duties to finance the galleys: "We can fear that imposing new customs duties should come to damage navigation and traffic with respect to nearby ports, where today everyone can see [that] the greater part of commerce goes, being little or not at all taxed."[4] The reference is clearly to Livorno where the first important steps toward liberalizing traffic had been enacted only three years earlier.[5] The acuteness of the crisis, though, led to moves in several directions at once. In October 1590 it was forbidden to export foodstuffs from republican territory,[6] but the initial, very modest steps toward creating a free port and liberalizing port traffic were also taken in the same period. Two decrees of the Senate proclaimed Genoa a free port for grain during the year running from August 1590 to August 1591.[7]

This first version of the free port incorporated a general safe conduct for anyone (with the sole exception of criminals guilty of high treason) bringing at least a two-thirds cargo of grain to Genoa or any of the republic's ports—a policy that had already been in effect for decades. It brought no exemption from anchorage taxes, and customs were to be paid as soon as the grain was unloaded on the pier. Because no storage facilities were set aside, tax exemption was limited to grain remaining aboard ship, and the ability to leave port with any unsold foodstuffs without paying duties on them. The difference with the previous practice of collecting the *gabella del grano* upon a ship's arrival allowed merchants to pay duties only on the grain sold and to find an alternative market for any foodstuffs left on board. Merchants could therefore avoid having to pay duties on the same cereals twice (or more). In short, the tax burden on imported wheat was shifted from the merchant importing it to the buyer in Genoa.

To a large degree, the institution of the "free port" in 1590 corresponded to a series of reforms affecting taxes on wheat presented thirty-five years earlier.[8] A series of reforms proposed in 1555 suggested shifting the burden of the *gabella* from shippers to buyers. In such a scheme the tax would have fallen only on the foodstuffs consumed in the city, or on those bought expressly for reexport by intermediaries, who would have had to pay an additional export duty as a means of keeping tax revenue at or near the previous levels. The proposal's author explicitly stated that the most dangerous competitor was already Livorno and that his proposed reform would draw shipments away from the Tuscan port and to Genoa, a goal of all subsequent free-port measures in Genoa. In fact, during the

last decade of the sixteenth century and through much of the seventeenth century the fiscal measures of both ports were modified a number of times in efforts to attract greater traffic and to create an emporium at the expense of the rival city. There was, however, a substantial difference in the type of free-port institution evolving in Livorno and the one that emerged in Genoa, a difference reflected in the ambiguity of the very term "free port," or *portofranco*. In both Italian and English the term refers to two different entities, which in turn reflect very different fiscal and economic strategies. A free port can be "free" in the sense that it is open to any and all merchants wishing to trade there, or it can be "free" in the sense of "duty free," that is, a port where goods in transit are exempt from customs duties. In other words a free port is created in order to attract either merchants or merchandise, to create either an emporium or an entrepôt, respectively. Of course, the institutions that emerged in the two cities did overlap these two categories to some degree, but to make a gross generalization, the Genoese free port tended to belong to the latter category whereas the policy of Livorno tended to put it in the former. Naturally, the Genoese offered safe conducts to merchants coming to the city; in general, however, tax exemptions were offered only on select merchandise transiting the city while the redistributive trade was to be left as much as possible in the same condition and the same (Genoese) hands as always. In Livorno, on the other hand, the tendency was one of reducing tariffs (though not eliminating them, at least not before 1676) across the board and encouraging foreign merchants to take up residence in the city. The strategy there was that of attracting merchants who could handle the redistribution of Tuscan goods and, at the same time, create an emporium for supplying the interior with imported items (which paid duties in full). In short, the Genoese were concerned with creating an entrepôt, a focal point for gathering goods to be redistributed by Genoese merchants, whereas Livorno was intended more distinctly as a place to be frequented by foreign merchants.

The course of events and the enormous flow of grain into the republic in 1591 and 1593 gave the Genoese a lesson that was not to be fully appreciated for nearly two decades.[9] The prospect of creating an entrepôt in Genoa capable in turn of furnishing grain to Lombardy and the Kingdom of Naples, without placing an ulterior strain on the already scarce Spanish grain production and without employing Spanish ships, led Philip II to allow safe passage through Spanish waters even to the English.[10] The economic power of the Genoese merchants with the aid of albeit flimsy free-port measures succeeded both in feed-

ing the city and influencing international diplomacy in a way that the galleys had never been able to do.

The contrast with traditional methods of ensuring a food supply could hardly have been greater. In January 1591 an attempt was made to encourage the increased cereal production of Corsica by giving fiefs to Genoese citizens willing to bring land under cultivation and build watchtowers against corsairs. In August authorization was granted for the creation of fiefs on the *terraferma* as well, and the extension of feudal bonds even over the Genoese living in Corsica.[11] From the documentation it is unclear whether production was actually increased. It is apparent, though, that if any increase occurred, it had little effect on Genoese patterns of consumption; in 1596 the Grand Duke of Tuscany bought nearly all the Corsican harvest, while in Genoa wheat shipments were awaited from beyond the Strait of Gibraltar.[12]

In the meantime, debts incurred during the crisis by the Ufficio dell'Abbondanza, the office responsible for maintaining the city's stocks of grain, together with the expenditures inherent in a poorly coordinated maritime policy, threatened the very existence of the newly formed free port. In 1592 the Casa di San Giorgio assigned 80,000 lire to eliminate the Ufficio delle galere's debts,[13] although a quarter of that sum was diverted to the Ufficio dell'Abbondanza. In November of that year the city's arsenal building collapsed, destroying four galleys. Two years later 300,000 lire *de paghe* was assigned to the Abbondanza in order to pay off accumulated debts, but to make matters worse, two galleys were shipwrecked and destroyed between 1594 and 1596. New taxes were instated to bail out the galleys, but for the Abbondanza recourse was made to San Giorgio.[14] On March 16, 1594, a further 60,000 lire and an annual assignment of 15,000 lire from customs duties were set aside for rebuilding the arsenal. Further assignments of 12,000 lire *de paghe* each were made in May 1596 and January 1597.[15] Three years later the Magistrato delle galere was still waiting for the 100,000 lire it had requested to cover the losses incurred from these two wrecks.[16] Given these outlays and the frequent recourse to San Giorgio, it comes as no surprise that, when the free port was renewed in April 1595 and requests were made to San Giorgio by the councils to reduce customs duties as a means of enhancing port traffic, no reductions could be found.[17] The governors of the republic preferred to continue along the traditional path of naval rearmament and a fiscal system based on the taxation of imports and consumption and, for the moment, failed to develop the free port as a tool for directing the flow of goods and ships toward the Ligurian port.

The projects for rebuilding the arsenal grew over the following years with the desire to increase the number of galleys in the republic's squadron. In 1599 the republic made plans for the construction of an arsenal capable of housing twenty-five galleys (rather than fourteen, as deliberated in 1588), and San Giorgio set aside considerable sums of money for the project's realization.[18] Construction continued more or less regularly until the arsenal's completion in 1607 and the institution of the Magistrato dell'arsenale to manage its activities and finances.[19] Any measures directed at increasing the port's traffic would, for the moment, have to wait.

Forging the Free Port as a Policy Tool

Initially an expedient for attracting an adequate food supply to the city in a time of famine, the free port declared on August 11, 1590, not only allowed safe passage to anyone carrying at least a two-thirds cargo of foodstuffs to the republic but also gave the opportunity to leave port without paying any duty should those foodstuffs remain unsold.[20] The policy was renewed less than a year later, but now privileges were limited to the city of Genoa with the further restriction that grains unloaded or transboarded could not be transported outside the territories of the republic.[21] The institution was given an ever-more-studied articulation over the course of the following decade and a half. The measure's success was not questioned, and any eventual conflicts over the opportunity of granting limited exemptions from some duties and the need to maintain San Giorgio's income from import taxes had not yet surfaced.

In September 1592 a panel of citizens commissioned to find ways of paying down the Magistrato dell'Abbondanza's debt went so far as to suggest the extension of the free port for three years, limited to the port of Genoa, but with the modification that two-thirds of the grain unloaded in the city could be reexported. The panel explicitly stated, however, that the Casa di San Giorgio's consent was to be obtained first.[22] When the free port was renewed for a one-year period in December 1592,[23] the republic accepted the panel's suggestions only in part and added two new elements: first, in an attempt to steer traffic away from Livorno, privileges were limited to ships coming from beyond the Strait of Gibraltar; and, second, of all foodstuffs unloaded not more than one-third could be reexported outside the republic's *dominio* and at least one-third had to remain in the city of Genoa.

Due in all probability to the outlays of funding requested of San Giorgio for

the reconstruction of Genoa's arsenal, the republic did not renew the free port in 1594. The call for renewing the institution in April 1595[24] made clear reference to the success of the measure in the past, "having seen by experience how much the concession of the free port has aided [the city] during the recent times of want and penury,"[25] and extended free-port privileges for five years to all vessels of over 300 mine carrying foodstuffs to the city. Tax exemptions were limited to permission to enter and exit the port without paying the *gabella del grano* on cereals that were neither unloaded nor transboarded. While the republic's councils explicitly claimed the authority to declare the free port, assent from the Casa di San Giorgio was necessary for modifying import taxes, and assent in 1595 was not forthcoming. A nearly identical proposal, approved on September 19, 1600, extended the rather lame free port for yet another five years.[26] With the expiration of the 1600 measures in early 1605, the Collegi promptly reproposed the concession of free-port privileges for ships bearing wheat from beyond the Strait of Gibraltar.

It is clear at this point that the Colleges were afraid of losing control over the institution of the free port and, as a consequence, the degree of control over port traffic inherent in the authority of regulating port duties. The proposal presented to the councils in January 1605 explicitly states that their having solicited the councils' approval in 1595 and again in 1600 for the establishment of the free port in no way prejudiced the Colleges' authority. The author also places the blame for the measures' scarce effects on the Casa di San Giorgio, which had been unwilling to follow the suggestions set forth by the *procuratori*.[27] This time the concessions to be made were elaborated together with the protectors of San Giorgio in order to avoid an unwanted curtailment of the proposed reductions. Exemption from the duties on grain were granted for nine months, until September 20, 1605, to any ship of over 300 mine carrying grain to the city from outside the Mediterranean. Curiously, however, any ships that "have already made agreements with the current governors of the duties" were excluded from the free-port benefits.[28] Lacking official consensus on the elimination or reduction of the duties on grain, we find that the *governatori delle gabelle* had been offering reductions to ships' captains and merchants on an individual basis. The rhetoric of the proposal can be explained not only in terms of the Colleges' desire to maintain competence over the matter but even more so in terms of a desire to regain some kind of institutional control over a practice that was being carried out privately; the contractors of the import duties were determining the republic's fiscal policy regarding port traffic.

The Casa di San Giorgio's long-standing practice of auctioning off the right to collect taxes had always left the contractors who had bought such privileges ample room for maneuver. Apparently the success of the free-port measures of the early 1590s had not been lost on the private tax collectors, even though officially San Giorgio was not willing to institutionalize any reductions in the duties. At their own discretion the buyers of the wheat tax offered incentives to merchants and captains bringing grain to the city, making the same calculation that the Colleges had made earlier; collecting lower sums of money by volume is more lucrative if the volume of traffic is sufficiently increased. The Colleges were not willing, though, to leave such a vital concern in the hands of private contractors. The entire question can be seen as part of a general trend that witnessed a growing concentration of power in the hands of the Colleges at the expense of the councils and the criminal courts[29] but also, and even more immediately, as an attempt to regain political control over the essential tool for directing port traffic, namely the ability to determine the republic's fiscal policy concerning movement in the port. As long as private individuals had the ability to control ad hoc reductions and privileges, a coherent policy that could influence the general flow of goods through the Mediterranean was precluded. Consequently, the brief concession of January 1605 was replaced in October by the bland version that had been in place during the preceding years.[30] Exemption from import duties on grain was again limited only to grain that was not brought ashore. As this version of the free port, in effect for three years, neared expiration in 1608, an innovation was proposed, that of also including ships coming from the eastern Mediterranean, "beyond Sicily and the furthest confines of the Kingdom of Naples."[31] When that addition was voted down, the previous form was dusted off yet again and extended for another three years.[32]

The modest success of the free port for grain shipments and, perhaps more important, the nearby example of the Tuscan port of Livorno,[33] led to the opening up of a free port for merchandise in 1609.[34] Work on the formulation of this institution had been underway for roughly two years. In fact, discussions had begun in the wake of the 1607 Spanish suspension of payments. During the same years that witnessed a growing debate over naval rearmament and possible means of creating a commercial alternative to the financial bonds with Spain, the institution of the free port became an effective instrument for ensuring a consistent flow of traffic through the city's port, but also a tool for directing that traffic.

The articles of the free port presented in January 1609 to the Minor Con-

siglio were the fruit of months of negotiation between the procurators of the republic and the protectors of San Giorgio. Nearly six months were to go by before the articles were to reach the Maggior Consiglio, and another two months before they were made public. This rather long gestation period finally produced a wide-ranging, though complicated set of measures aimed at increasing port traffic, reversing a trend that had seen the port of Genoa slowly become a satellite of Livorno.[35] The goal was to create an entrepôt capable of guaranteeing return cargoes for northern merchants trading in the Mediterranean.

According to the regulations, the free port for merchandise was kept separate from the free port for grain, which maintained its own regulations and geographical limits. The free port for merchandise was opened up to ships of any size bearing goods to the port of Genoa from beyond the republic's borders to the west and from beyond the mouth of the Tiber to the east, thus excluding both Livorno and Civitavecchia. In other words, any ship that had not taken on goods between the Tiber and Monte Carlo could enter and exit the port without having to pay import and export duties on its cargo. There were, of course, exceptions for some cargo, ranging from cereals, wine, and oil (the movements of which were subject to other institutions) to silk brought in for domestic consumption (silk transiting the port was not entirely duty free but did benefit from a considerable reduction).

Also some reductions in duties aimed at facilitating the transit trade and the creation of an entrepôt. Goods could now be transboarded from one ship to another for reexport (outside the territory of the republic's *dominio*), with the receiving ship paying only a 1 percent tax on the goods transboarded (as opposed to the 7 percent due normally), with an additional 1 percent to be paid should those goods be sold or in any way change proprietor. Goods could be stored on land for up to six months, with the shipper paying only a 3 percent duty, the remaining 4 percent to be paid only in the case that those goods were eventually sold for domestic consumption and not for reexport.

The concerns over the growing importance of Livorno as an emporium are immediately clear; the third article of the free-port regulations stipulates that anyone benefiting from the free port who wished to export goods to the Tuscan port was required to leave a deposit of 2,000 scudi to be reimbursed only after unloading in Livorno and returning directly to Genoa.

The regulations excluded goods produced in the Kingdom of Naples from the free port, while granting a duty reduction on Neapolitan merchandise transiting Genoa. Duty on goods brought overland from Lombardy for reexport

dropped from 7 to 5.5 percent, while goods arriving from Piedmont and Monferrat carried a duty of only 3 percent if destined for the West and 4 percent if destined for the East. Regulations offered further reductions for cloth of gold and other rich goods from Milan as well as cochineal brought to the port for reexport. Finally, any tax collectors offering reductions on the established rates were liable to a fine of 200 gold scudi.

Although trades that were well established or firmly in Genoese hands were not strongly affected by the institution of the free port, the regulation offered incentives on the use of Genoa as a redistributive center both for goods entering and exiting the port by sea and for goods arriving by land and exiting by sea. Such trades could interest foreign, notably northern shippers looking for return cargoes after having brought wheat to the Mediterranean. The rise of Livorno as an emporium for northern merchants in the Mediterranean was a menace to Genoa in that it threatened the Genoese ability to maintain the availability of adequate shipping for their own trades; as the Genoese merchants began to rely more and more heavily on northern shipping, an expedient had to be found to guarantee the presence of that shipping in the port. If Genoa were to become an auxiliary port to Livorno, dependent on the latter for its long-distance trade, the Genoese merchants would lose the advantage of residing in the neuralgic center of a widespread trading network. It was hoped that the imposition of a 2,000 crown deposit on ships destined for Livorno would be enough to ensure the preeminence of Genoa as a hub in Mediterranean trade. Finally, the importance of the free port even as a political tool is underscored by the substantial fine levied on tax collectors deviating from the practices outlined in the decree; the members of the Colleges specified that "under oath, no pardons can be given since without such management the free port cannot be established."[36]

Three months prior to the 1609 decree's expiration, discussions began concerning new regulations. A final text was presented to the Minor Consiglio on January 31, 1613.[37] By the Collegi's own admission the previous rules had presented some difficulties and allowed some "occasion for dispute," so they had the articles completely rewritten and proposed for a five-year period for the regulations, beginning on February 12, 1613. This version of the free port extended the geographical limits to the Strait of Gibraltar in the west and to Sicily in the south and east. It removed the possibility of paying a reduced duty for storing goods on land and the need for a deposit to be paid by ships bound for Livorno. Goods destined for export outside the Republic of Genoa could be transboarded from one ship to another without being subject to any duty, but if they were sold

or in any way changed hands the full rates were to be paid. The regulations also reduced duties on raw silk transiting the port as long, as no transactions took place, and on goods originating in Naples, Lucca, and Florence. Milanese gold thread and *colli ricchi* as well as Bolognese cloth transiting the port were afforded advantageous price estimates (on which the duties, expressed in percentages of the estimates, were calculated). Goods from Piedmont and Monferrat arriving by land for overseas export received the same reductions as before, which would now apply even when exported from Savona. Furthermore, tax collectors could grant additional reductions. The measures passed both councils with a wide margin of votes, 98 to 9 in the Minor Consiglio and 294 to 25 in the Maggior Consiglio. Articulation and subtlety were sacrificed in favor of simplicity and a slight reduction in the breadth of the concessions to be made. The number of ships and the volume of goods transiting the port had grown steadily since 1609, though without equaling the levels of the peak year 1608. During the five years under the 1613 free-port regulations, port traffic remained substantially the same.[38]

In late 1617, shortly before the previous regulations were due to expire, the councils formed a commission composed of two procurators and two protectors of the Casa di San Giorgio to study possible modifications to be made in renewing the free port. The commission's goal, as presented in the articles proposed to the councils in January 1618, was to establish the means of creating measures that were "broader, simpler and more liberal, with fewer occasions for possible disputes."[39] The choice of simplifying the regulations made in 1613 was repeated, but the tendency of simplifying through the elimination of benefits was reversed. The 1618 articles were much looser than the previous ones, allowing ships coming from outside the established geographical limits (left intact from the 1613 version of the free port) to frequent ports inside those limits without losing the privileges applied to the merchandise originating outside them. In other words, goods were distinguished from the ships carrying them, while the geographical limits applied only to the former. Merchandise could now be unloaded and stored for up to eighteen months without being subject to customs duties, which were to be paid only in case of sale. And in that case, if the goods sold were to be reexported by sea, they were subject only to a tax of 2 percent, and if sent overland outside the republic, they paid only 3 percent and were allowed a 50 percent reduction on the *peaggio*, a toll on goods leaving the city by land. These latter two elements constituted an important innovation in the construction of the entrepôt, encouraging the use of Genoa as a redistribu-

tive port even for goods destined for the interior. Previously, the free-port measures excluded trades that were firmly in Genoese hands, such as the inland distribution of goods brought to Genoa by sea. The regulations also added French cloth and Flemish goods to the list of items benefiting from reduced estimates in calculating the duties to be paid,[40] and in May 1618, in a further effort to attract merchandise and stimulate port traffic, reduced the storage fees charged on goods in quarantine in the city's *lazaretto* by 25 to 30 percent.[41]

During the five years of these articles' validity, port traffic increased greatly, when measured in total volume of shipping, expressed in ship's burden entering the port— from an annual average of roughly 939,000 cantari (1613–17) to 1,611,960 *cantari* (1618–22).[42]

The steps taken in 1618 were seconded in 1623 and in some points carried even further.[43] Most important, the geographical limits set for ships benefiting from the free port were drastically reduced, to Antibes in the west and in the south and east to Viareggio, thus allowing ships from the rival ports of Livorno and Marseille, though the benefits were still limited to goods produced beyond the Strait of Gibraltar and the island of Sicily. This was a clear concession to the Tuscan port and indicated an acceptance of the existence of the emporium created in Livorno by the northern merchants. Articles also granted limited privileges to Spanish goods (which could remain in port or be transboarded for shipment out of the republic duty free, paying 3 percent in case of sale) and to French and Provençal goods, which gained limited free-port privileges in Savona, San Remo, and Alassio as well. Articles regulating the free port for merchandise now included the free port for foodstuffs, and reduced duties were offered for Flemish goods arriving overland for reexport outside the republic.

With the outbreak of the war against Savoy and France in 1625 the French not only disrupted maritime traffic but obviously interrupted the flow of goods to and from Piedmont as well. Because port traffic did not increase, in an effort to provide greater stimulus to trade and compensate for the disruptions, the Genoese made some modifications to the free-port regulations. They suppressed a number of minor *gabelle* for a five-year period beginning in 1628,[44] and in 1631 offered those merchants who paid port duties promptly and in cash a further discount of 9 percent. In 1633 the Genoese rewrote the articles governing the free port once more, putting them into effect in February of that year (the same articles were then renewed without further modification in 1638).[45] They expanded the geographical limits this time to allow only ships coming from beyond Marseille to the west and Sicily to the south and east, and merchandise

originating beyond the Strait of Gibraltar and Sicily. They limited duty-free storage to one year and set the tax on goods sold for reexport by sea at 2 percent. For goods to be exported by land they assigned a duty of 4 percent and an additional 2 percent if sold or alienated. Goods coming from Spain, France, and Provence had the same privileges as in 1623, and certain northern goods destined for Savona gained limited free-port privileges. Flemish goods arriving via land for export were subject to a duty of only 1.5 percent. In an effort to attract northern ships directly to their port, the Genoese exempted ships coming from beyond Gibraltar from taxes on ships' armaments and from certain bureaucratic procedures and offered a cash incentive of fifteen to fifty pieces of eight to ships' captains bringing considerable cargoes from the Atlantic directly to Genoa without touching any other Mediterranean port. Traffic had picked up again after the more intense phases of the conflict with Savoy and with the relative stability of the 1630s (circa 1,408,000 cantari arriving annually between 1629 and 1639, with a peak of 1,775,520 in 1633, as compared with the annual average of 852,000 cantari during the years 1625–28).[46]

The increase in port traffic in Genoa following the establishment of the free port confirms the institution's general success. The efforts, however, to attract northern shippers, notably the Dutch and the English, away from Livorno and to Genoa were less fortunate. While nearly all Dutch shipping entering the Mediterranean was destined for either Genoa or Livorno, in 1627 Dutch ships in the Tuscan port outnumbered their compatriots in Genoa eight to one.[47] The disproportion is too great to be explained merely in terms of the hostilities then open between Genoa and Savoy. Two elements conspired against the Genoese in their efforts to become the principal Mediterranean emporium and preferred port for northern shipping in southern Europe: their embeddedness in the Spanish world and their unwillingness to give concessions to foreign merchants. Spain was at war with the United Provinces, and even when not at war with England relations between the two countries were never good. The well-known Genoese place in the Spanish world and Genoese involvement in the affairs of the Spanish crown, not to mention the presence of the Doria galley squadron in the port of Genoa, even before the attacks on Dutch shipping in the 1630s, were clear deterrents to northern shippers. With regard to the second element, the Genoese free port was aimed at attracting *merchandise* to the Ligurian port, whereas the decrees made by Cosimo I and Ferdinand I of Tuscany were directed primarily at attracting *merchants*.

Cosimo I's 1565 reforms of the customs structure in Livorno were already

radically different than the measures enacted in Genoa in 1609. Cosimo had eliminated taxes on local consumption in order to favor the growth of the resident community while providing great tariff reductions on goods transiting the port as a means of attracting traffic. The Genoese had done the opposite, leaving taxes on local consumption and cabotage traffic intact while exempting much of the transit trade from customs duties. The broader set of reforms known as the "Livornina" decreed by Ferdinand I in 1593 specifically encouraged foreign merchants to settle in Livorno.[48] Of course, the differing approaches to the construction of a free port are not merely superficial variations but reflect a structural difference between the economic realities of the two ports and the two states of Tuscany and the Republic of Genoa. Livorno did not have an established tradition of maritime commerce comparable with that of Genoa and did not possess a merchant fleet of any note. Promotion of the port of Livorno was seen as a means of providing an outlet for Tuscan goods and manufactures on an international market and as a means of attracting imports for supplying the internal regions of the state. The most expedient method for achieving these goals was that of drawing foreign ships and merchants to the Tuscan port. Genoa, on the other hand, did possess a long tradition of maritime commerce and a fleet, one, however, that was more and more dedicated to cabotage and relatively short-range trade.[49] The Genoese were interested in attracting goods for their own merchants to trade in and for their own ships to transport. The Dutch and English merchants who came along with those ships were inevitably in competition with the Genoese, hence the shift in emphasis between the measures adopted by the republic and those of the grand duchy.

The establishment of the free port responded to another set of needs as well, though one that was not entirely commercial. It is no accident that, as we examine the successive versions of the free port's regulations, the greatest steps taken to attract northern shipping come in the wake of periods of tension between the republic and Spain. The initial establishment of the free port for merchandise was put under study immediately after the Spanish suspension of payments of 1607, and the greatest concessions made specifically to northern shippers came in 1633, the first opportunity to revise the free-port regulations after the 1627 suspension of payments. This also corresponds chronologically with the growing bitterness over Spanish behavior during the conflicts of the 1620s and early 1630s. Rather than representing a shift toward the abandonment of trade to foreign hands, the free port was one of the more successful elements in the range of initiatives proposed to stimulate a return to maritime

commerce as an alternative to an excessive dependence on Spain and the financial activities pursued at the Spanish court. When it became necessary to find means of increasing the republic's revenue in order to finance its galley fleet during the war against Savoy, the imposition of taxes that could have impinged on free-port benefits was scrupulously avoided; taxes were raised on goods consumed locally (most notably on foodstuffs) and on export duties associated with locally produced goods (which were excluded from the free-port privileges).[50] In effect, the institution of the free port and programs of naval rearmament responded to the same goals:[51] a means of creating a presence for the republic at sea and providing an alternative to dependence on Spain.

The creation of free fairs and free ports[52] was one of the few means available to small countries attempting to respond to the increasingly restrictive mercantilist policies of some of the larger European powers. They were simply a means of favoring the flow of goods by countering the unilateral barriers created in France and England, among other countries. The underlying logic of the *portofranco* went one step further, however, containing another important element, a means of "passively" creating a presence on the sea whose effects could equal those of the "active" presence of an armed fleet. One of the most striking examples of this effect dates from the initial period of the Genoese free port for cereals. In September 1591 Philip II agreed to allow Dutch and English ships carrying foodstuffs directed to the neutral port of Genoa to pass through Spanish waters and the Strait of Gibraltar.[53] Through the reexportation of northern European wheat from Genoa to Lombardy and the Kingdom of Naples the Spanish were able to provide for their famine-stricken realms without drawing on their own scarce food supply and without exposing their own ships to possible English and Dutch attacks. The commercial interests drawn together in the concession of the free port for cereals was able to provide the shipping necessary for the transport of wheat to the city and to "protect" that shipping along its route through a sort of negative presence on the seas.

Further episodes in the waters near Livorno illustrate the mechanism on a smaller scale. In 1601 an English ship captured a vessel from Livorno in Tuscan waters but was pressured into releasing it by the city's English merchants, whose affairs risked being seriously compromised by such an act. Likewise, when during the 1650s an English ship attacked a French vessel near the entry to the port, the English merchants of the city, solicited by the grand duke, wrote a letter of protest to London.[54] The creation of an emporium that bound up the interests of all resulted in a self-policing of the waters around the port; no one was will-

ing to jeopardize his own economic interests by interfering with the port's traffic. English merchants, but also Dutch and French and anyone else, were the ones who stood to lose if shipping to the port were to be disrupted, even if the vessels interfering with traffic were of their own nationality.

While historians of the period tend to see naval armament programs and the institution of the free port as separate and at best unrelated if not in conflict with one another,[55] this is not the case. The two programs are incompatible only if naval armament is intended for aggressive use, as in the case of the Tuscan Knights of Saint Stephen whose piratical activities continually hindered the grand duke's efforts to establish commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire. Should naval armament be undertaken for the purpose of defense, as in the case of Genoa during the 1620s, conflict is not automatic. As Nicolò Imperiale was to comment years later, "The goal of the free port is no other than that of increasing traffic and the quantity of goods in Genoa, but is there anything more able to hinder this than piracy and theft?"[56] In other words, nothing that safeguarded shipping destined for the city could be considered in itself harmful to the institution of the free port. The real conflict of interests, once again, was that between the Spanish alliance and the republic's need to maintain a credible neutrality.

The Free Port and the *Nuovo Armamento*

At various moments in its history, the Magistrato delle galere required additional financing for one reason or another, either for the enlargement of the squadron, to meet rising costs, or simply to compensate for the reduction of some source of income. Recourse to the Casa di San Giorgio for the assignment of the income from some duty or another was common. New *luoghi* were less common since they led to new or increased *gabelle*. The creation of the *nuovo armamento* and the decision to launch as many as twenty free galleys in the 1640s presented the same problem but on a completely different order of scale. As we have seen, much of the initial capital outlay, the extraordinary expenditure, came from donations by private citizens eager for one reason or another to promote the initiative. Once launched, however, the considerable operational costs of the new armament's squadron of free galleys had to be met as well. Inevitably, the Genoese turned to the Bank of Saint George for the necessary funds. Given the financial institution's growing involvement with the establishment of a free port in Genoa, in contrast with the ambiguous nature and

dubious goals of the *nuovo armamento*, some contrast with San Giorgio's "liberalizing" tendencies was inevitable, owing to the ambiguity of the projects for rearmament.[57]

Apart from the early experiments with the free port for cereals in the 1590s, and the series of regulations governing the free port for merchandise since its institution in 1609, the bank had continuously invested in the maintenance and improvement of the port as well. These investments culminated in the construction of the *molo nuovo*, the massive new mole built between 1638 and 1643 to protect the port from the strong southwesterly winds, the *libeccio*, which periodically wreaked havoc among the ships anchored in the port. In addition to the roughly 16,000 lire contributed annually by the bank to the magistracy of the Padri del comune for the upkeep of the port in the years prior to 1645,[58] the Casa di San Giorgio set aside 1.25 million lire for the construction of the new mole, compared with the 750,000 lire raised by the republic through the sale of shares in a *compera vitalizia*, a term investment program at 3.5 percent interest. When the final construction costs exceeded the amount of money set aside for the project, the Casa di San Giorgio again loaned the republic the 324,320 lire necessary to cover the extra costs.[59] Thus, any eventual conflict of interests between the financial institution and the projects of the new armament were not based on a scarcity of funds, or on the bank's unwillingness to invest in costly projects regarding the seaward side of the city's economy. The bank's slowness to sustain the new armament financially can be attributed only to the lack of convergence of the two institutions' goals.[60] The interests of the bank, of course, were not at all extraneous to those of the republic; they were one and the same. The bank's administrators, however, tended to prioritize optimization of the republic's income, whereas the priorities chosen by the Colleges and councils at times lay elsewhere, in the pursuit of political and diplomatic goals.[61] Given the preponderant role that duties on port traffic had in the state's finances, San Giorgio's interest in maintaining and improving the functionality and safety of the port is easily understood, as is the desire to increase port traffic through the selective application of reduced tariffs, in an effort to find the perfect equilibrium between a broadened fiscal base and reduced rates.

In this context, then, had the only goal of the armament of free galleys been that of ridding the republic's waters of pirates, and had the administrators of San Giorgio felt that the "disinfestation" of the Ligurian Sea would have brought about an increase in traffic proportional to the expense of fitting out the squadron of galleys, they would surely have been willing to provide more-direct

and more-sustained support for the squadron. As we have seen, though, the goals of the new armament's most fervid supporters went well beyond a simple calculation of monetary returns on investments and were instead of a substantially political nature. Because of the ambiguity of intents behind the construction and armament of the free galleys (to clear the seas of pirates or to engage in ill-planned adventurous campaigns for patriotic reasons), the cautious and calculating *protettori di San Giorgio* were slow in offering assistance and quick to revoke it as soon as the end of the Thirty Years' War offered a plausible excuse for doing so.

The Casa di San Giorgio's initial refusal to finance the construction of a galleon fleet in 1651 must be read in the same light. Any sort of large-scale extraordinary spending, as with the construction of a fleet, risked forcing a revision of port taxes and therefore conflict with the institution of the free port. The costs would have been high enough to cast serious doubts as to whether a limited number of publicly owned ships, or even the Genoese-owned merchant fleet sailing in convoys, could offset them. The political climate of 1652, however, called for high-profile actions, and the Casa di San Giorgio softened its position. The ambiguity of the earlier projects for naval armament was still present in the plans for the acquisition of galleons, but after the experience of the *nuovo armamento*'s first decade, the navalists had learned to temper their language. In the request made to San Giorgio for financing in December 1652 mention was made not of possible adventurous voyages to the Levant or the glory of the republic but rather of "the continual robbery at sea and the excessive damage, even the complete extermination caused to [port] traffic," for which "an adequate maritime armament is commonly deemed the opportune remedy."[62] The shared preoccupation was that continued piracy and privateering in the republic's waters would drive traffic away from Genoa, and the navalists stopped at that in requesting funding.

Without making any open mention of the problem, there can be no doubt that the Spanish decision to confiscate unauthorized shipments of bullion out of the country in 1651 greatly influenced the bank's administrators in the reversal of their previous decision. The gravity of the situation led the bank to back the purchase of four galleons, raising the duties on imported foodstuffs (an addition of four soldi per mina on "grain, legumes, or other foodstuffs" arriving by sea), allowing for the collection of a tax of 2 percent on all goods carried in the convoys yet to be formed. In addition to this, the interest from 25,000 *luoghi* previously earmarked for the extinction of taxes was redirected toward meeting the

estimated maintenance costs of the galleons, 12,800 lire per vessel per month.[63] Within a few years, though, when it became clear that the convoys were unable to finance themselves, a tug-of-war began with the tax burdens first being placed on shipping and subsequently being loosened.[64] After the Treaty of the Pyrenees and peace between France and Spain, the organization of convoys assumed a greatly reduced profile; from 1660 only two galleons were kept active, and the only convoy route ever plied with regularity was the one for Spain,[65] and that for the reasons mentioned previously.

The Free Port from 1640 to 1656

The free-port regulations formulated in 1645 represented a timid reversal of the brief period of more restrictive measures enacted in 1633. During those same years enlargement of the republic's galley fleet had been entirely unable to fulfill its goals, and the free-port measures of 1645 did little better. The idea was to encourage foreign shipping to frequent the republic's ports (limited free-port concessions had been enacted for Savona too as early as 1633) in spite of the menace represented by French privateers in the republic's waters.[66] In effect, there were few substantial changes in the regulations compared with the rules that had been in place for more than ten years. The geographical limits determining which ships and merchandise were eligible to benefit from the free-port privileges remained the same: ships of any size coming from beyond Sicily to the south and east and from beyond Marseille to the west could take advantage of the concessions if they arrived in Genoa sailing *in dirittura*, that is, without touching other ports within the limits; the goods concerned had to originate outside the Strait of Gibraltar, inland of the Barbary Coast, or to the east of Sicily.[67]

The innovations going into effect in 1646 were few. Goods arriving under the provisions of the free port and sold for reexport were subject, as before, to a duty of 2 percent. Again in conformity with the previous regulations, goods originating in Spain could remain in port and even be transboarded for reexport at no charge and, when sold or alienated, be subject to a duty of only 2.5 percent. The differences lay in the reduction of duties on salted meats and fish (from 5 percent added to the standard 2.5 percent, to an addition of only 3 percent) and the inclusion of French goods under the same terms as those produced in Spain. Furthermore, and perhaps more important, goods could be sent out of the Genoese *dominio* to the east, but no farther than Viareggio, with a duty of

only 1.5 percent. The intent is clear; an attempt was being made to allow for the provisioning of Tuscany through Genoa rather than Livorno, which was witnessing across-the-board increases in duties and anchorage taxes in those years.[68] The provisions made in the past for Savona were also widened to correspond to those in force in Genoa, but only for ships of less than 1,200 cantari burden.[69] Lead and tin shipped through Savona were also allowed a discounted duty of only 4 percent. As with the regulations already in act, the *portofranco dei grani* was incorporated in the broader free-port rules, but with the reduced geographical limits of Monaco and Sicily (and limited to ships of more than 400 mine), thus allowing the passage of French and Provençal grain through Genoa as well. On a final note, and it may be more important than it would at first appear, the free-port regulations going into effect in 1646 were much shorter and clearer and to the point than the previous versions, undoubtedly a conscious modification in favor of merchants previously discouraged by the complexity of the ordinances.

In spite of the fact that few modifications were made in 1645 to broaden the free port, it was precisely in these years that San Giorgio's policy became perfectly clear. The Casa di San Giorgio was under pressure from the Colleges to increase the state's revenue[70] and the bank's response was to strengthen the free port while extending and increasing taxes on local consumption. Temporary increases in the salt tax and the *peaggio*, voted in 1635 and 1637 respectively, were reconfirmed in 1643 and extended for yet another ten years in 1647.[71] A temporary increase on oil consumed in the city and its suburbs, voted in 1638, was reconfirmed in 1647 and modified in such a way as to channel more of the income generated directly to the Camera and not into the hands of tax farmers.[72] At the same time the *protettori di San Giorgio* showed their willingness to invest in the construction of more storage space for goods entering the free port. Already in October 1646 "the recently built warehouse of the free port [did] not have the necessary capacity, given that since it [had been] built a much greater quantity than usual of cloths and goods [had] come to this city," and so they set aside funds for the construction of new storage facilities.[73]

In this perspective, only the vital category of foodstuffs remained in a gray area. As noted earlier, the desire to attract a constant flow of cereals to the city lay at the very basis of the free port's origins, but the concessions allowed to grain merchants had always been quite meager, consisting only in the exemption from the *gabella del grano* for any grain that was not unloaded from the ships and occasionally for grain that was unloaded but remained unsold. At the same time

cereals were very much an item of local consumption and as such were heavily taxed when possible. In the 1640s, however, it became clear to the *protettori di San Giorgio* that the vicinity of Livorno was undermining the effectiveness of the policy of taxing this consumer good. In 1647 the duty on rye, barley, and fodder was reduced in order to counter the practice of grain merchants who sent their goods to Livorno and from there supplied the Genoese *riviere* with contraband foodstuffs, without touching the capital city. The Casa di San Giorgio was forced to reduce the duties on grain in order to maintain control over its flow to the city and the *dominio*.[74]

Roughly two months before the 1646 regulations were to expire, in December 1649, a new text was put before the *protettori di San Giorgio* presenting only two significant modifications with regard to the previous version.[75] Otherwise identical to the measures of four years earlier, a new provision stated that merchants could send grain and merchandise *in dirittura*, without touching any intermediate port, from Livorno to Savona in ships of less than 1,200 *cantari* and benefit from the same privileges as ships arriving in Genoa from outside the established geographical limits of Marseille and Sicily. At the same time, shippers transporting any merchandise to Genoa from areas north of Civitavecchia (read Livorno), with the exception of goods produced in that area, were penalized by an addition of 4 to 5 percent. Offering only a very partial capitulation to the superiority of Livorno as an emporium (by allowing goods from Livorno to be shipped to Savona in small vessels), the Genoese tried to make the most of the situation by attempting to attract the Levant traffic to Genoa and by favoring a regional articulation of the whole free-port project. With the combination of the concession to Savona and the additional tariff, Genoa refused subordination to Livorno and continued to refuse to condone the practice of its merchants operating through the Tuscan port. At the same time, traffic between the two regions, and especially the cabotage traffic in smaller vessels, was intense, and the new measures were seen as a means of stimulating traffic in Savona to the detriment of the nearby Savoyard ports of Villefranche and Nice (both declared free ports in 1613, with geographical limits set at Gibraltar and Venice).[76]

During the year and a half that ensued prior to the revocation of the additional tax on goods coming to Genoa from Livorno, the number of ships arriving in Genoa reached its lowest level in the entire first half of the seventeenth century.[77] Clearly, Genoa occupied a secondary position with respect to

Livorno, and the tariff additions discouraged shippers from proceeding to Genoa after having visited the port of Livorno. The disastrous results forced the Colleges to recognize the impossibility of overturning Livorno's position as the northern merchants' Mediterranean emporium, at least for the moment. They removed the barrier in May 1651, and port traffic quickly returned to its previous levels.[78]

The "free port for foodstuffs" was again separated from the "free port for merchandise" in 1653 and, unlike the institution regarding merchandise, hardly differed from the original 1590 free port for foodstuffs.[79] In effect, the republic allowed wheat and other cereals brought to the city in ships of more than 300 mine burden and coming from beyond the set limits to remain in port and even transboard if the merchants so desired without paying any duties on the grain. The moment they unloaded or alienated any quantity of the foodstuffs, though, the *gabella* was applied in full.[80] The only new concession offered to merchants in 1653 was that bills of exchange—in addition to cash, of course—were now accepted for the payment of duties. The real quality shift in the *portofranco*, however, came about with the modified regulations going into effect in 1654.[81] For the first time the Genoese adopted the logic of the Livorno free port, not only to attract merchandise to the city but to attract merchants as well.

> Any and every person of any nation, state, rank, and condition without exception is permitted to come to the present city of Genoa with their families, goods, and belongings and to stay in the city for as long as they please, with the constant freedom to depart when they so desire with no obstacles or impediments, and to trade there in [financial] exchanges, merchandise, and foodstuffs and to carry on any sort of traffic. . . . Jews and infidels will also be received according to the modalities established by the Most Serene Colleges.[82]

The republic greatly reduced the geographical limits, to Civitavecchia and the river Varo to the east and west and to the island of Corsica to the south. As earlier, it subjected goods sold for reexport to a duty of 2 percent, and goods coming from the area between the Strait of Gibraltar and the river Varo to the west and between Sicily and Civitavecchia to the south and east to duties amounting to 3 percent if unloaded and stored in the free port's warehouses prior to reexportation by sea.[83] It extended the temporal limits for goods in the free port from one year to four years and granted reductions again for the overland reexportation of goods arriving by sea (duty of 4 percent plus 2 percent if

sold or alienated). To encourage use of the city as a redistribution center for certain goods moving in the other direction, Genoa reduced the duty on Flemish goods arriving by land to only 1.5 percent (plus 1 percent if sold or alienated) and assigned German cloth a duty of 4 percent (plus an additional 2 percent if sold or alienated) when brought overland for reexport by sea.

The effects were immediate. The level of traffic entering the port rose to 1,013,530 cantari in 1654 and 1,285,700 in 1655, compared with an average of roughly 718,000 cantari for the three preceding years.[84] The figure of 985,500 cantari for 1656 would in all probability have been much higher, even surpassing that of the previous two years, if the plague had not broken out in June of that year, bringing port traffic to a halt.

Success came on the heels of years of ferment, as discussed earlier, and coincided with the first experiments with convoyed shipping. In fact, the peak year for port traffic also marked the high point of participation in the convoys, with 11 merchant vessels participating in the April 1655 convoy.[85] There can be no doubt, however, regarding the question of which innovation contributed more to the rise in traffic: 8 vessels arrived in port sailing in convoy in 1655, 8 of a total 396 ships arriving in the port of Genoa.[86] The role of the free port in this dramatic increase in the quantity of goods transiting the port is further illustrated by the absolute inadequacy of the free-port storage facilities to hold the merchandise destined for them. In spite of the construction of new facilities in 1633 and 1644, the relative scarcity of warehouses was already obvious in 1646. A November 1654 note to the Colleges even questions the viability of the new free-port measures given the lack of sufficient storage space and the "much greater abundance" of goods flowing into that institution.[87] In fact, less than a year later the Casa di San Giorgio was forced to begin construction of new warehouses; the old ones were full as was the customshouse that had been requisitioned for the purpose. Private storage space too had been requisitioned and rented, "prejudicing public income."[88]

At any rate, at this point it is worth observing that the organization of convoyed shipping and the implementation of a free-port policy did not immediately come into conflict but were complementary approaches to the same problem. As mentioned earlier, this fact was clear to Nicolò Imperiale writing in the 1670s, not too long after the moves to loosen considerably the free-port regulations, but the republic's oligarchs were aware of this even before the final deliberation of the 1654 measures for the *portofranco.* An anonymous text datable

to the period between December 1651 and December 1654 articulates the specific roles attributed to the free-port privileges.

> It would bind up the interests of many states with our own given the quantity of capital they would keep here. And among others, the two richest and most powerful, even though the youngest republics of the world, that is England and the United Provinces of Flanders, would always have a great number of ships and boats and sailors in the port, which the republic could take advantage of in times of need to defend itself from enemy armadas. The free port would provide supplies for living and for war and . . . at least indirectly the Levant traffic by attracting the English and Flemish merchants, who would ship their goods from here . . . as they now do in Livorno, not to mention Armenians and Turks and other oriental nations who would bring their eastern goods here.[89]

The use of the free port as a means of not only attracting goods and merchants to the city but also providing for the city's defense on the seaward side is made quite clear. The "quantity of capital" bound up in commerce would induce the English and the Dutch to protect Genoa from its enemies. Here the free port is also seen as the most expedient way of attracting Levantine goods to the port without the risk and expenditure represented by the projects for sending galleys out to perpetrate piratical acts against Muslim shipping, or for sending aid to the Venetians in Candia in the hopes of carving out a piece of the eastern market directly.

In this document the free port assumes the function ascribed elsewhere to the squadron of galleons and the organization of convoyed shipping—to protect the city and its traffic and to provide for the arrival of merchandise in the Genoese port. As mentioned previously, there was no reason the two initiatives could not complement one another, but as soon as it became apparent that participation in the convoys was far from global and that the convoys were unable to finance themselves, the Colleges transformed convoy participation fees into an outright duty on port traffic. In March 1656 the Colleges decided to apply the 2 percent fee for participation in the convoys to all goods exiting the port and to forbid goods from being shipped to Spain except in ships participating in the convoy.[90] Conflict between the two institutions was now open, as was a broad question of competence regarding the Colleges' authority to make de facto modifications in the free-port regulations without consulting the protectors of San Giorgio. The decree was not enforced, and in the final convoy prior to the outbreak of the

plague, departing on April 30, 1656, only two merchant vessels took part, accompanied by a single galleon.

The strength of one of the tenets of the *portofranco*, however, the idea that economic power could be used to influence events beyond the borders of the republic, was made extremely clear in another conflict as well, one that went beyond a mere question of priorities of interest in establishing a coherent policy for the republic. When the Spanish ordered the confiscation of goods and credits due to Genoese citizens in 1654, it was not the military threats that brought about the return of the goods (such threats never got beyond the floor of the Maggior Consiglio) but economic and diplomatic pressure.[91] Just as the free port was intended to direct the economic power of the republic toward the goal of changing shipping patterns in the Mediterranean and providing indirectly for the protection of the republic and domestic shipping, economic strength could also be used to alter the political positions of foreign powers.

The Free Port after the Plague of 1656–1657

During the years 1656 and 1657 nearly half the people then living in Genoa died of the plague.[92] During the epidemic port traffic obviously sank to extremely low levels, as it did in the other areas affected by the plague in those two years: Malta, Naples, Rome, and Sardinia. Although port traffic did rise again after the plague (preplague levels, however, were not reached for more than a decade afterward), the most catastrophic effect for Genoa was the decimation of its most productive classes, the merchants and artisans, along with their contribution not only to the economic well-being of the city but also to the republic's fiscal system. With the evolution of the free port, especially in the decade and a half prior to the epidemic, the city had significantly shifted the weight of its fiscal structure toward taxes on local consumption in order to lighten the burden on goods transiting the port, thus favoring the creation of an entrepôt. While restoration of the transit trade in the wake of the plague was possible, pushing consumption to its previous levels was much more difficult, given the dramatic population decrease.[93]

With the expiration of the 1654 free-port regulations, the *protettori di San Giorgio* carried to the extreme the new strategy of attracting both merchants and merchandise to the city, in an effort to offset the tremendous population losses. The regulations drawn up in March 1658 set the geographical limits determin-

ing which goods could benefit from the free-port privileges at the river Varo to the west and Mount Argentario in the Tuscan Maremma to the south, thus allowing access to goods coming from Civitavecchia but not from Livorno. Merchants could transboard and reship goods arriving *in dirittura* from outside the geographical limits without paying any duty whatsoever, even if sold or otherwise alienated. Furthermore, merchants living outside the *dominio* but within the limits (read Livorno) could receive tax exemptions on the condition that they move to Genoa within six months of publication of the new regulations.

Apparently the new concessions were still insufficient to draw merchants and merchandise away from the nearby Tuscan port and to relaunch Genoa as an emporium. Only six months after the modification of the *portofranco* regulations, the Bank of San Giorgio had to admit that, in spite of the modifications, the "new free port, [which is] much broader than the previous ones, has not borne the fruit that was hoped for"; it attributed this failure to the fact that "during the time of contagion, which lasted too long, the foreign merchants have established their business elsewhere."[94] The city approved another series of measures broadening the free port even further in December 1659, to go into effect in 1660. The duty to be paid on silk, both raw and worked, was cut in half if the silk arrived in and left the city by sea. Silk had always constituted a category unto itself as far as the free port was concerned, taxed previously at nine lire per bail of 250 libbre (plus three lire ten soldi if sold or alienated). The elimination in 1660 of the additional three and a half lire and the reduction for silk goods entering and leaving the port by sea were both clear attempts to favor the use of Genoa as an entrepôt, and indirectly as a means of ensuring the supply of raw silk for the city's own textile industry, which had been severely damaged by the epidemic.[95] The city still allowed access to the free port to goods arriving in ships that had called on ports within the geographical limits, as long as they had not been unloaded within those limits. Those goods unloaded within the limits (with the exception of German and Italian products) were charged only 2 percent if they were to be reexported by sea, while merchandise produced in the Republic of Lucca or in Florence was admitted to the free port as though it had originated outside the geographical limits.[96] Finally, the free port for foodstuffs was made to correspond to the free port for merchandise in that the limits were made to coincide, and the conditions previously in force concerning the size of ships bearing grain were removed.

Following two separate approaches to the goal of enhancing the principal

port, the city-state modified regulations regarding port traffic further. In May 1660 it restored a 1440 law requiring all vessels of more than 600 cantari destined for the *riviere* to pass through Genoa both on arrival and departure[97] and, following a very different line of reasoning for attracting more traffic to the port, added even more reductions temporarily to the free port. *Colli ricchi*, products with a high specific value, were to be charged only 11 lire, 5 soldi per bundle whether arriving by land or by sea, whereas previously they had been admitted to the free port only if arriving by land for reexport by sea, and even then they were subject to a duty of 35 lire (7 percent on a price estimate of 500 lire). The duty on silk sold for consumption in the city was reduced as well, from 30 to 14 lire per rubbo (approximately 7.9 kilograms).[98]

Apparently the *protettori di San Giorgio* felt that an optimal equilibrium had been reached and that the levels of port traffic in Genoa were approaching satisfactory levels. A proposal of February 3, 1662, laments the fact that with the free port's limit set at Mount Argentario, and therefore excluding Livorno, few large ships were coming to Genoa, making the Ligurian city a center for the cabotage trade only and a subsidiary of the Tuscan port. As a result of this situation, according to the proposal's author, Genoa was losing its income from the anchorage taxes that weighed exclusively on larger vessels.[99] His recommendation was to eliminate the possibility of transboarding merchandise destined for the free port between ships within the confines of the *dominio*, a measure indicating the total ineffectiveness of the 1660 ordinance that traffic for the *dominio* pass through Genoa.

With the publication of the rules for the *Portofranco generalissimo per le merci* in 1670,[100] the institution of the free port reached a certain degree of stability, and the regulation underwent few and only slight changes during the remainder of the century. The geographical limits of the river Varo and Civitavecchia remained unchanged, but the islands, even the islands under the jurisdiction of the republic, were considered as lying outside the limits. The time limit for the tax exemption of goods stored in the free-port warehouses was set at four years. The only innovations in terms of reductions were the inclusion of wine among the goods that could transit the port duty free, a reduction of the duty on *salumi* (salted fish and meats) from 17 to 10 percent, and a reduction of the export tariff charged on woolen cloth produced in Genoa, from twenty-nine soldi per bolt to only five. Merchants exporting woolens were also given credits against the import duties on raw wool brought to Genoa for the production of cloth, and those bringing goods overland from Flanders were now only charged a

flat 2 percent rather than the previous 2.5 percent (1.5 percent plus 1 percent in case of sale). All other goods arriving by land and destined for export outside Genoese territory paid only 3 percent.

Innovations moving in the opposite sense, however, were not lacking either. The reduction on silk destined for the city disappeared as did the lower rate charged on *colli ricchi*, which were now taxed on the order of 6 percent of their value (plus an additional 3 percent in case of sale). All goods covered by the free-port regulations were subject to the *peaggio* upon leaving the city but were afforded a discounted rate of 50 percent. Finally, the regulations going into effect in December 1670 resolved the question of reconciling the state-sponsored convoys with the free port. They assessed an additional 2 percent on the cargo of all vessels taking part in the convoys and 2 percent on the cargo of any Genoese vessels sailing for the coast of Spain or Portugal during the thirty days prior to and the six days following the convoy's departure. Foreign vessels not sailing with the convoy were forbidden to load goods for Spain or Portugal during that same period. Shortly after the regulations' first publication, the 2 percent rate dropped to 1.5 percent for ships destined for Lisbon if the convoy did not proceed beyond Cádiz.[101]

In the end, circumstances had brought the Genoese to align their free-port policy, in very broad terms, with that of Livorno. And those circumstances were not so very different from the ones that had led to the 1565 and 1593 reforms in the Tuscan port. The plague of 1656–57 had overturned the Genoese condition of an abundance of merchants with inadequate shipping, or rather inadequate cargoes for the shipping that frequented the port. The size of the national merchant fleet had been irrelevant to the logic lying behind the creation and evolution of the *portofranco* of the first half of the seventeenth century, which was aimed not only at resolving the problem of finding return cargoes for the Atlantic shipping that brought grain but also at bringing Levantine and colonial goods to the Ligurian port. The idea of attracting foreign merchants to Genoa had also been extraneous to the early versions of the free port; the Genoese merchants considered it only natural that they should act as intermediaries in redistributing the goods that arrived in Atlantic ships. The exclusive aim of the first free port, therefore, had been that of convincing northern shippers to bring their goods to Genoa where they could be sold, or where shipment to the final point of sale could be organized (by Genoese middlemen). This underlying logic was first reversed in 1654 with the explicit invitation to foreign merchants to move to Genoa and again in 1658 with offers of tax exemption to any mer-

chants moving to the city within six months of the publication of the free-port rules. While in 1654 the innovation had been motivated by the desire to tie up as much foreign capital in the city as possible, especially English and Dutch interests, in hopes of increasing the likelihood that those countries would come to Genoa's aid in times of need, in 1658 the primary motivation was simply that of bringing merchants to the city to carry on their business and fill the void left in the wake of the plague.

In effect, Genoa in the late 1650s faced many of the same problems faced by Livorno in the late sixteenth century—the lack of a native merchant class active in long-distance, overseas commerce (decimated by the plague in Genoa) and an inadequate national presence on the sea to guarantee plentiful traffic in the port and sufficient protection at sea. Of course, the analogy holds true only to a certain degree. The original liberalizing reforms in Livorno had greatly reduced taxation on local consumption, which continued to be the backbone of the Genoese fiscal system. In the meantime, however, as Livorno became the primary emporium of the western Mediterranean, that difference had grown smaller, and local consumption became an important source of revenue for the grand duke's tax collectors in Livorno as well.[102] Therefore, by the mid-seventeenth century the two cities presented themselves in similar terms, prospective emporium ports specializing in the storage and eventual redistribution of goods, though with some notable differences. Genoa offered the advantages of a large city that constituted an important market in itself and was much more favorably positioned for the inland redistribution of goods not only to northern Italy but also to the Rhine valley. Livorno, on the other hand, had the incomparable advantage of housing consolidated merchant communities from various nations ranging from the eastern Mediterranean to the North Sea. The repeated Genoese attempts to draw traffic away from Livorno and to penalize merchants operating out of the Tuscan port, together with the complaints that such penalties in the end damaged Genoa itself, indicate the Genoese inability to outstrip Livorno in its capacity to attract shipping and in its function as an emporium. That being said, the free port had established itself firmly within Genoa and cannot be evaluated negatively simply because one of its primary objectives, allowing Genoa to surpass Livorno, did not meet with complete success. Even as a partial satellite of the Tuscan center, Genoa's free port ensured it a substantial level of traffic and provided the republic with a considerable degree of political influence.

Genoa's Place among the Late Seventeenth-Century Free Ports

The Republic of Genoa did not, of course, live in a vacuum isolated from the thought and experiments of its day. The years around midcentury, and especially the years immediately following the plague epidemic in Genoa, were a time of ferment in which all the great powers of the period tried to increase their share of Mediterranean (and extra-Mediterranean) trade, and the smaller states facing that sea tried to route as much commerce as possible through their own ports.

These were also the years of the English navigation acts and the continued juridical debate over the freedom of the seas. The first navigation act dates, in fact, from October 1651, and John Selden's *Mare Clausum* was amplified and republished in English in 1652. A wave of literature pushing for a mercantilist-protectionist policy appeared; Benjamin Worsely's *The Advocate*, Thomas Violet's *The Advancement of Merchandise*, and Henry Robinson's *Certain Proposals* were all published in either 1651 or 1652. The same years, however, entertained the idea of reforming the English customs structure in order to create "magazines" and "stores," similar to those created by the Dutch in Amsterdam, through the adoption of a "free-port" policy throughout England.[103] English flirtation with some form of free-port policy was extended to the Mediterranean area in the 1662 attempt to create an entrepôt in the recently acquired port of Tangier,[104] whose primary beneficiaries would be English.

It is important to bear in mind again that the term "free port" (*portofranco*) did not have a single, universally accepted definition during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nor did it represent a forebear of generalized free trade or an island of liberalism as the word free or *franco* might seem to suggest. Rather, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the term described two distinct but not mutually exclusive policies. In some cases "free port" meant a port that is open to all, to which everyone has free access. In this sense the port of Livorno could be described as a free port following the 1593 reforms known as the "Livornina" allowing any and all merchants to live and trade in Livorno regardless of nationality or religion. The second definition of the free port, and the one most widely used today (causing some confusion over the nomenclature of the past), refers to a port or zone where goods may transit free of import and export duties. The Genoese free port, at least until 1654, belonged more to this category; certain items could be brought into and out of the port completely

free from duties, which were only levied in specific circumstances (for example, in the case of sale). Often elements of both forms coexisted in institutions whose role was determined not by ideology or faith in free trade but through an empirical approach to satisfying the particular needs and goals of each city and state in question. In any case, neither of these two conceptions of the "free port" was based on the belief that the lessening of restrictions on trade would in itself be useful for the generation of further trade; rather, they were seen as instruments for attracting a greater proportion of maritime commerce to the port in question within a zero-sum view of overall trade.

The English experiment in Tangier then, like the free port to be attempted by the French seven years later in Marseille, resembled the policies then in force in Genoa and Livorno only on a superficial level and not in the fundamental intents. The English welcomed all vessels, both English and foreign, to their free port, with the exception of any ships coming from beyond the Cape of Good Hope or from the English colonies, or the ships of any countries at war with England. Merchants could unload and store goods in the city, paying only a flat rate of 5 shillings for every 100 pounds worth of merchandise, with no additional import or export taxes whatsoever. The difference between Tangier and its Italian counterparts lay, then, in two points: any goods exported to England or English possessions had to be sent in English ships manned by English crews, and the tax structure was extremely simple and the rate extremely low. Clearly the English were not concerned with providing a supply of goods for the local population, or with redrawing the equilibrium of a fiscal system based on port traffic. Furthermore, the tax of only 0.25 percent of the value of goods transiting the port could not have been expected to generate a significant source of income for the crown. The intentions of the English were exclusively those of creating a depot for the concentration of their own trade in the Mediterranean region under their own control. An entrepôt was to be created for the benefit of anyone wishing to carry on business there, but the principal goal was to build those "stores" and "warehouses" so useful to the organization of long-distance trade and the provisioning of cargoes for English ships returning from the Mediterranean. The conditions were more in line with later conceptions of a free port as a privileged locale where goods transit duty free; the selectivity of the English experiment regarding both the provenance of goods accepted and the nationality of ships destined for the home country separate it from the liberalistic notions behind the modern idea of the institution.

The "free port" declared in Marseille in 1669 bore even less resemblance to

its Italian counterparts. Since 1659 a protective tax of fifty sous per ton had been levied on all foreign vessels frequenting French ports for reasons of commerce. The "free port" removed the tax of fifty sous per ton on foreign shipping, but replaced it with a duty of 20 percent on the value of all goods brought from the Levant in non-French vessels, even if those goods belonged to and were being shipped to Frenchmen. The 20 percent were to be levied on French vessels as well if their final destination was a port other than Marseille, or if the goods they carried had touched an Italian warehouse.[105] More than the creation of an emporium, the French were trying to privilege domestic shipping without taking recourse to the extreme and potentially counterproductive measures of the English navigation acts. As the Venetians experienced during this same period, the exclusion of foreign shipping from trade to the home country or city could lead to virtual exclusion from the principal commercial circuits, if the country adopting the protectionist policy was not already in a dominant position.[106] The French were less drastic. The burden on foreign shipping and the Italian emporia, which were used extensively by the English and the Dutch, did not entirely exclude the more established northern shippers from French trade but did constitute a considerable incentive for the use of French ships.

Less than a decade later the framework of the Tuscan free port of Livorno was radically overhauled. After years of complaints from the merchants operating in that port, and fifteen years after Ferdinand II's oath to revise the city's fiscal mechanisms, Grand Duke Cosimo III presented the new port regulations on March 11, 1676.[107] These regulations eliminated all import and export duties on merchandise in favor of payment of the *stallaggio*, a tax to be paid on the deposit of goods in the city's warehouses.[108] The Tuscan reforms, however, went beyond the restructuring of the fiscal system. In 1674 Livorno had enacted new regulations regarding financial exchanges to facilitate trade in Tuscany, and in 1675 it solicited and obtained a treaty of nonbelligerence in Tuscan waters from the Dutch and French consuls.[109]

This brief overview of some of the other free ports then in existence in the Mediterranean area puts the Genoese case in perspective. The most extreme example, from a liberalistic point of view, is that of Livorno after the reform of 1676; goods entered and exited the port with no restrictions concerning provenance and were taxed only very lightly and uniformly. Goods destined for consumption, or even overland transit, were subject to the traditional import duties. The Genoese free port of the 1660s and 1670s offered complete exemption for most goods transiting the port but was selective regarding the provenance of

ships and the point of origin of the merchandise. The Genoese, however, offered a number of facilitations for the overland reexport of certain products and for the overseas export of goods brought to the city from the hinterland. In short, while the Genoese free port was more or less "liberal" for specific categories of merchandise and encouraged a certain type of commerce deliberately excluded by its Livornese counterpart, namely the inland redistribution of imported goods, the various geographical limits and numerous exceptions to the blanket tax exemption made the Ligurian city less of an island of free trade. Here, it is worth repeating that neither Genoa nor Livorno discriminated against ships on the basis of nationality.

The cases of the English free port set up in Tangier and the French free port in Marseille are more similar to Livorno than to Genoa in that both ports either eliminated entry and exit duties or reduced them to a minimum with no distinction as to the type of goods in question. In this they had gone a step further than Genoa in accepting the idea of the free port as being "free" of duties. The difference between Tangier and Marseille on the one hand, and Livorno (and Genoa) on the other, is that the English and the French discriminated on the basis of the nationality of the ships arriving in port. Through the application of the principal tenets of the navigation acts, the English intention was to create a base for their own shipping, taking advantage of the privileged position thus given to English shipping in order to exploit the subsidiary fleets of the Mediterranean, which would presumably bring merchandise to the Moroccan port. At the same time the French applied punitive duties on foreigners and on any Frenchmen tempted by the unpatriotic possibility of operating out of the Italian emporia. The "free" port in Marseille was such only for the French.

In the end the underlying factor that determined the final point-by-point form of the various free ports was not the conception that one had of the institution ("free" of duties as opposed to "free" access to all merchants), but simply whether the free port was the instrument of a large and powerful state or of a small one. The fact that neither Livorno nor Genoa discriminated against ships on the basis of nationality is much more important than the fact that Livorno offered across-the-board tax exemption while the Genoese measures were more articulated and much more complicated. The English and French projects were designed to enhance the role of the English and French merchant fleets respectively, whereas the Italian free ports were aimed at making national fleets unnecessary.

In spite of the visions of a substantial number of the Republic of Genoa's oli-

garchs, and in spite of the very partial concessions to national shipping made in the form of protectionist measures favoring Genoese convoys that were included in the 1670 regulations,[110] the free port from its very origins had always been designed to attract foreign shipping to the city to compensate for the inadequacy of the domestic fleet. The fiscal reductions and exemptions integrated into the free-port measures were to provide the city with both shipping and merchandise, but also with protection. The economic power of the city's merchants and the city's power to consume imported goods were to bind interests to the republic guaranteeing its importance as a commercial hub but also its seaward protection. In this sense the free port in Livorno belonged to the same category as the one in Genoa. While the Tuscan city's ability to consume imported goods itself was not a part of that free port's rationale, the creation of an emporium served by foreign shipping and foreign merchants was seen as a means of providing both a constant supply of goods for consumption within the grand duchy in the absence of a substantial domestic merchant fleet (the duke's fiscal system relying heavily on the taxation of goods leaving Livorno for overland redistribution and consumption in the rest of the Tuscan state) and the city's protection by those countries with substantial commercial and shipping interests in Livorno.[111]

From this point of view, the English and Dutch shippers and merchants were not the Republic of Genoa's principal rivals. Livorno posed the greatest threat to Genoa in the same way that Pisa and Venice had been a threat in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; it was a nearby city playing the same game. For decades, if not for an entire century, the Genoese oligarchs had been trying in vain to steer Livorno's traffic toward Genoa. The Genoese ability to compete, according to the English consul in Livorno, reached a low point during the late 1620s,[112] but shortly after the 1658 reform of the Genoese free port the republic's traffic again rivaled that of its Tuscan neighbor.[113] Rivalry and conflict between the two most powerful northern countries, England and the United Provinces, favored Genoa to the extent that in the latter part of the century the Dutch began to prefer the Ligurian port to the Tuscan one, which was assiduously frequented by the English. This was extremely important for the Genoese emporium, especially given the successes of the Dutch over the English in the Mediterranean during the second Anglo-Dutch war.[114] One noted historian of the period has even suggested that by the end of the century, after having successfully drawn Dutch traffic to its own port, Genoa had finally surpassed Livorno.[115]

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

A Century of Ships and Paper

Two threads run intertwined through Genoese political discourse during the latter half of the sixteenth and the better part of the seventeenth century, passing through a century and a half of political formations and economic transformations. Both ideas—relaunching Genoa as a maritime power (for many as a maritime military power), and creating an emporium market as a means of enhancing the city's importance as a commercial hub in the western Mediterranean—were part of a widely held desire to revitalize the republic's relationship with the sea. Although both sought a new role for Genoa in the early modern Mediterranean world, they represented two fairly distinct lines of thought that challenged one another through a series of proposals and a decades-long evolution of fiscal and political policy. At several points in time the city's ruling class saw its internal divisions crystallize around these competing issues.

The analysis of such projects, as well as the progressive definition and revision of the republic's policy and approach to the sea in general, sheds considerable light both on the map of relative positions within the city's ruling class and on the republic's place in the greater Mediterranean and European context. In the former, questions of maritime policy usually overlapped considerably with

economic interests and structures of allegiance, which often extended well beyond the boundaries of the republic. In the latter, shifts in policy in response to changing historical conjunctures allow us to measure the oligarchs' ability to perceive and understand the weight of the transformations going on around them.

The notion of creating a publicly owned fleet, of creating a distinct state presence on the sea, was conceived during the 1550s in a moment of growing factional tension and political involution in Genoa and, to a great extent, can be seen as a product of that conflict. Beginning with Uberto Foglietta's proposal to build a state fleet of galleys from the ships Andrea Doria would supposedly have handed over to the republic in a rare (and not forthcoming) demonstration of generosity and *amor patriae*, the long series of projects and visions of armed Genoese vessels plying and prevailing over the world's seas constituted rhetorical exercises made to demonstrate a given political position more often than realistic ideas concerning real vessels. Originally part of the conflict between the two traditional factions of the nobility, the proposals for the creation and then for the enlargement or transformation of the state squadron would be included later in debates concerning the republic's delicate relationship with Spain, and consequent disagreement over the type of economic activities to be privileged by the city's ruling class. Such projects were eventually to become part of the republic's drive to assert a certain notion of sovereignty and neutrality, within a more general effort to regain an autonomous role in the Mediterranean world. At each step the dividing line between proponents and opponents was merely the reflection of greater divisions along much broader and more elusive lines.

The evolution of the free port on the other hand, the most consistent tool for creating an emporium in Genoa, was less evidently political or politicized. Originally a response to a crisis situation, the Mediterranean-wide famines of the sixteenth century's final decade, the free port evolved slowly and in fits and starts into an economic instrument that over the course of more than fifty years came to represent an alternative to naval armament in achieving the aims set forth by many of the republic's oligarchs. The development of the free port into a real policy tool in the conscious effort to create an emporium did not follow a linear path from the instatement of the August 1590 *portofranco dei grani*. Like the projects for naval armament, the free port passed through a number of intermediate steps and hybrid forms as the very conception of what a free port was changed along with the ideas of what the free port's role in the economy and politics of the republic should be.

These two themes or threads finally lead, however, to a series of much broader questions, the implications of which go well beyond the republic of Genoa or the Mediterranean world and even beyond the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That is, what exactly is the relationship between big, militarily powerful countries and small, economically powerful ones? And what are the dynamics of such relationships? In other words, what role do independent and rich city-states, economic nodal points, play in much larger and relatively rigid state systems, and what happens when those larger systems enter a crisis situation? The internal conflicts that took place in the Republic of Genoa were acted out within the context of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century systems of states, both in political and economic terms. That is not to say, of course, that such external factors always had a determining role in the outcome of events, but merely that they did always have a conditioning effect on the decisions of the historical actors and did always delimit one end of the spectrum of possibilities open to the republic's oligarchs.

We must speak of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *systems* of states in the plural, and for a number of reasons. First of all, for all the power and predominance rightly attributed to the Spanish empire and its satellites in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was not the only system then in existence. This should seem a banality, but all too often in the case of Genoa the degree of the republic's embeddedness in the Spanish world is considered to be so powerful that it tends to cancel out the effects of a rival French sphere of power. Regardless of whether there was any realistic prospect of a Genoese defection from the Spanish, the very presence of a rival system always constituted an influential factor in Hispano-Genoese relations and, hence, in determining the republic's position in the Spanish Mediterranean world. Beginning with the 1640s the plurality of state systems and webs of alliances became even clearer as the Spanish lost the degree of hegemony previously held, ceding some control before the growing influence of the French, the Dutch, and the English. At this point the shifting balance of power and influence on an international level must be seen as a factor in the relationship between large states and small ones, and also as a constituent element in determining the horizon of possibilities available to the Genoese ruling class.

The value of the Genoese case does not lie exclusively, however, in being emblematic of relations between types of states and roles in international power systems, but also in the example it offers of economic transformation and retransformation in the volatile context of the Mediterranean world. The nature

of the Genoese economy changed as the financial sector gained importance at the expense of maritime commerce during the sixteenth century (concomitantly with political realignment), and again with the decline of that sector of the economy in the wake of the growing financial disorder within the realms of the Spanish crown. Just as Genoa in the fifteenth century exemplifies the capacities of the late medieval city-state to adapt to changing political and market conditions,[1] the Genoa of the sixteenth century exemplifies the same capacity for transformation from a commercial to a substantially financial economy. Thus Genoa in the seventeenth century exemplifies the disorientation of the early modern state faced with yet another forced economic transformation in the context of widespread upheaval. With the near simultaneous failure of the Spanish crown's liquidity and its hegemony over the western Mediterranean, the Genoese were forced yet again to redefine their political role and reinvent their maritime commercial vocation. While the difficulty of this conjuncture led inevitably to a number of backward-looking proposals aimed at somehow recreating Genoa's medieval heyday of maritime strength and military glory, some innovative projects did emerge as the republic very slowly developed a coherent maritime policy favoring trade and the use of Genoa as an entrepôt. A significant conditioning factor in actuating this policy, apart from the circulation of rival ideas concerning the most adequate means of attaining commercial success for the city, was the rigidity of the republic's fiscal system, itself an inheritance of the Middle Ages. Paradoxically, the same fiscal and financial system embodied in the Casa di San Giorgio that guaranteed the republic's financial stability also constituted a limit to innovation in the area of offering incentives for the transit of merchandise in the city's port and the republic's port system in general. If the diplomatic and political relations with the larger states of the day delimited the field of possibility on one end of the spectrum, then the republic's own fiscal system represented the limit on the other end.

In 1554, following a motion by the *nobile nuovo* Ansaldo Giustiniani, the Maggior Consiglio voted to arm fifty to eighty galleys. Five years later the publication of Uberto Foglietta's *Della Repubblica di Genova* formalized the cardinal points of a century's proposals for naval rearmament. For both Foglietta and Giustiniani, the constitution of a state-owned fleet would guarantee the glory of the republic. Foglietta insists that it would also ensure the flow of traffic through the port and provide work for the youth of the city.[2] Later, in 1559, the Magistrato delle galere was formed for the purpose of protecting the Ligurian coast and Genoese shipping from Turkish corsairs. In spite of the decision to build

and launch a fleet of fifty to eighty galleys, the magistracy was charged with only four such vessels, which were reduced to only three in 1564.[3] The enormous discrepancy in numbers, the overly ambitious goals attributed to the squadron, and the chronically inadequate funding were to characterize the history of the Magistrato delle galere for decades. Still, there was no lack of proposals during the 1560s and 1570s requesting an increase in the size of the galley fleet, especially in relation to schemes combining notions of naval strength and greater economic emphasis on the city's silk manufacturing industry. The increase in the number of galleys from three to six in 1585–86, however, came about as tensions between the antagonistic factions of the nobility were beginning to cool and responded to a need that lay largely outside the arena of political debate—supplementing the protection from Barbary corsairs beyond that offered by the Doria squadron. Tensions within the ruling class were far from absent, but the limited increase in the state's military presence at sea if anything raised the level of political debate from one between rival factions to one between allied states, namely the Republic of Genoa and Spain. In any case, for the entire second half of the sixteenth century there was an abyss separating the rhetorical fleets of Ansaldo Giustiniani and Uberto Foglietta, among many others, and the real fleet of a handful of galleys operated by the Magistrato delle galere.

With the brief period of enthusiasm for the undertakings of Francesco Grimaldi in the 1580s, a final point was added to those already delineated by Uberto Foglietta: that of using the state fleet as a "school" for training young noble captains. The fact that the principal elements of virtually all of the proposals for direct state intervention in the construction and equipping of ships during the seventeenth century were already present by the 1590s does not diminish the variation among the many schemes and a certain degree of dynamism within the "navalist" party. If the international political scene and the republic's own fiscal policy set the bounds of the possible field of action, then the proposals themselves, taken in succession, determined the progressive evolution of thought in that field. Again, if we take the series of proposals for naval armament as a single whole evolving through time, then we can apply Hans Robert Jauss's notions of literary reception to an understanding of how successive generations of politicians modified the tenets of previous projects in light of changing "horizons of expectations."[4] In other words, it would be wrong to see the galley fleet proposed by Foglietta as being unrelated to the ideas of the founders of the Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà, or those of the supporters of convoyed shipping, simply because each of these projects was formulated in response to a

different set of historical circumstances and aimed at different political objectives. The projects for relaunching Genoa as a maritime power are more easily understood if viewed as a genre in political discourse; only with extreme difficulty could seventeenth-century "navalists" distance themselves from the lines traced by Foglietta (the defining traits of the genre), even though the form of the projects did change considerably with circumstances and objectives. In other words, as the political climate of the Mediterranean and the republic's fiscal system shifted during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at times broadening and at times restricting political room for maneuver, the defining elements of the genre of proposals were reinterpreted and updated to fit the changing circumstances. The elements themselves remained, but the expectations attached to them shifted with the changing times.

For example, the projects discussed in 1613 and 1632 for providing the republic with a fleet of galleons address the cardinal points put forward by Foglietta. The 1613 proposal is built around the idea that Genoa needs a state-owned fleet for defense and for enhancing the republic's commerce, and that through this tool the patriciate could be encouraged to turn its attention to maritime trade. At the same time the galleons proposed would provide the possibility for young nobles to gain experience in command and in trade. The project is faithful to the genre established by Foglietta. Both international and domestic circumstances, however, were very different in 1613, from those of 1559. Divisions within the oligarchy were crystallized no longer along factional lines (between *vecchi* and *nuovi*) but rather between those who saw the political and financial-economic links with Spain as beneficial for the republic and those who felt them to be a danger for Genoa's continued well-being. The project put forth in 1632 envisioning the formation of a joint-stock company for the construction of a fleet of galleons again repeats the cardinal points of the genre, but the "horizon of expectations" addressed has shifted even further. It has been influenced both by the analysis made in 1613 of the Genoese situation (maritime commerce was languishing due to an excessive involvement in the finances of the Spanish crown) and by recent external factors such as the success of the Dutch company model, which the proposal's author suggests imitating.

The later schemes and projects discussed should also be seen in a similar light. The Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà of 1638 and the two October 1638 projects that were not realized all addressed the question of resurrecting the republic's past glory, encouraging maritime commerce, and creating the prerequisites for promoting maritime activity among the nobility. They were very

clearly inspired by the success of the Dutch model and (the horizons had shifted yet again) by the cool relations then running between the republic and Spain.

Even in the relatively rare cases where the rhetorical fleets of ambitious projects actually coincided with real ships in the water (the galleys of the *nuovo armamento* in the 1640s, the short-lived Genoese East India Company, the Compagnia marittima di San Giorgio, and the galleons purchased in the 1650s for organizing convoyed shipping), the principal points of the genre's rhetoric were maintained. The form of the various projects changed with the Mediterranean's political and economic landscape and the fiscal possibilities of the republic, but the justifications did not. The formulation of the "maritime question" remained fixed.

During the century running from the publication of Uberto Foglietta's *Della Repubblica di Genova* and the inauguration of the organized convoys, Genoa and Genoa's place on the political and economic map of Europe had changed drastically. The internal divisions that lacerated the city in Foglietta's day had all but disappeared by mid-seventeenth century (of course, the city did not live in perfect harmony and idyllic bliss, but the lines of tension were drawn along completely different coordinates), and the financial involvement with the Spanish crown that was beginning to emerge as a destabilizing element in Foglietta's day had, by the 1650s, nearly come to a complete halt. Moreover, Genoa was no longer a financial hub on the scale it had been in the sixteenth century, nor did it possess one of the Mediterranean's most important fleets. All the same, the series of projects remained true to the genre. The remedies put forth did change together with the diagnoses of the causes of a perceived decline in the city's maritime vocation, but not the supporting columns of the rhetoric. The fleet envisioned by Foglietta and Giustiniani, for example, was seen as a means of counterbalancing the growing power of the *nobili vecchi*, whereas the squadron of galleons proposed in 1613 was for the most part to serve as a demonstration of the republic's military and economic independence from Spain. In 1613 the construction of the ships was to be financed directly by the state, whereas the fleet proposed in 1632, which again was to serve as an emblem of the republic's independence, would have been underwritten by a joint-stock company.

Curiously, while the successive generations of schemes were conditioned by their predecessors, the absolute failure of nearly all of the projects had only a slight impact on the formation of subsequent proposals. Apparently, the failure of such proposals as the 1613 one concerning galleons was ascribed less to the merits of the plan itself than to the desire to avoid the eventual political reper-

cussions it would have created with Spain. Thus in 1632 a very similar scheme was presented. The biggest difference between the two is not necessarily the provision in 1632 for the formation of a company as a means of defraying the costs to the republic. At least as important is the change in relations between Genoa and the Spanish crown that had taken place during the two decades separating the two projects. In the eyes of the majority of Genoese oligarchs, the change was still not great enough in 1613 to warrant action, but by 1638 the distance between the two countries was perceived as having grown to a point that the time was right to try again. The founders of the Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà, as well as the authors of the other 1638 proposals, drew on the same rhetoric as before.

With the exception of the brief experience of the Compagnia di nostra signora, a private enterprise, it is only with the 1640s that there is any significant degree of correspondence between the grandiose plans for a return to the sea and the existence of a real fleet of ships. And it is under the weight of the experience of the *nuovo armamento*, the Compagnia genovese delle Indie Orientali, the Compagnia marittima di San Giorgio, and the organization of convoys under armed escort that the dreams of returning to the medieval golden age of Genoese naval power began to be transformed into a coherent maritime policy befitting a small seventeenth-century Mediterranean state. The costly and inconclusive experiment with the free galleys outlived the 1640s in an extremely reduced form; the East India Company was brought to an abrupt halt before the government could be convinced to follow its example; and within little more than a decade after their purchase, the use of the republic's galleons was limited to guaranteeing the transport of bullion from Cádiz to Genoa. The attempts to translate the drafts of ambitious programs into effective naval power demonstrated the distance between the authors of those proposals and the realities of the seventeenth-century Mediterranean, both in economic and political terms. The failure to achieve the desired results, combined with the high cost of such programs, led to their virtual abandonment, or rather to their severe reduction in favor of an alternative, "passive" approach to projecting the republic's power onto the sea, influencing shipping patterns, and to some degree directing commercial traffic in the Mediterranean.

That approach was, of course, that of the free port. Naturally, the Genoese emporium was not created overnight. Its roots lay in the 1590 declaration of the "free port for foodstuffs," but the development of a free-port policy embracing both political and economic designs originated with the free port for merchan-

dise established in 1609. The passage, however, from the notion of the free port as a means of attracting goods (whether cereals or merchandise) to a conception of the free port as a means of attracting merchants came about quite slowly with a gradual shift in the goals pursued by the *protettori di San Giorgio.* With the series of measures drawn up between 1654 and 1660 for regulating the free port, the two conceptions were blended. It is worth noting that this change took place shortly after the attempts to create a galley fleet manned by free crews and that these were precisely the years of experimentation with the organized, armed convoys under the aegis of state protection. By 1670 the role of the convoys was limited to that of shipping precious metals along the Cádiz-Genoa route, and the free port had become the most significant element of the republic's maritime policy. In that year provisions regulating the relationship between the convoys and the free port were included in the articles of the *portofranco*, which in turn constituted a single coherent policy tool. The contraposition of the free port to naval armament, one as an alternative to the other, is not always apparent, though. In fact, the two policies do not *necessarily* conflict with one another. As long as the naval forces of the free port's state do not interfere with the port's traffic, and as long as the cost of maintaining a military fleet does not require substantial extraordinary funding, which can interfere with the delicate fiscal balance of the free-port state, then the two policies need not come into conflict.

The two policies' potential for being seen as alternative to one another becomes clear, however, if we compare their goals. The aims of a free-port policy were to increase the fiscal base through an increase in port traffic; to provide for the supply of goods for local consumption; to provide for the supply of goods for trade; to influence the regional if not international flow of goods; to provide military protection; and, in some cases, to allow a competitive advantage to national shipping. With the exception of this last possibility, by the second half of the seventeenth century all of these elements were present in the Genoese free port. Incentives directed toward the increase in port traffic broadened the republic's fiscal base in three ways: by spreading lower duties over an increased quantity of merchandise; by providing enhanced possibilities for local consumption, which in turn was taxed more heavily; and by an increase in revenues from anchorage taxes as a direct result of increased port traffic. The desire to provide for the principal component of local consumption, grain, lay at the very origin of the free port, whereas the goal of providing goods for trade lay at the heart of the free port for merchandise from its inception in 1609, as did the desire to steer traffic away from Livorno. Finally, by 1654 at the latest, the idea of

tying up the economic interests of more powerful countries in the free port as a means of inducing them to protect the city was openly declared. The goals declared by the proponents of a naval buildup were nearly identical. Uberto Foglietta stated the generic terms in 1559: a state-owned fleet would bring about an increase in port traffic and provide military protection. Of course, these notions were developed more fully in the successive projects. According to the 1613 project, the proposed twelve galleons would "bring great benefit" to the port's customs, "reintroduce the exercise of trade in our city," and at the same time serve to protect the republic.[5] All later proposals for naval armament make the same claims, as do the reiterated requests for renewing the free port each time its regulations expired.[6]

The institution of the free port would appear to be the "poor state's alternative" or a "small state's alternative" to a strong military presence at sea. The fact that this is not the case, though, is brought home by the examples of the free port set up by the English in Tangier in 1662 (and talk of adopting a free-port policy in England as well), by the French free port in Marseille in 1669, and even more so by the case of Amsterdam. Without ever actually calling it a free port, the Dutch had long pursued the creation of an emporium in Amsterdam through the application of low import and export duties. In the first two cases the primary goal of the free ports was that of favoring national shipping as well as, in the case of Tangier, that of providing a supply of goods for trade. In the case of Amsterdam we see an example of how a free-port policy could function hand in hand with a strong naval presence. The distinguishing traits of the various free ports, then, are associated with the institution's goals and the means employed in achieving those goals rather than with the size of the country hosting the free port or system of free ports. In like manner, the free port as an institution is an alternative to naval armament only when that particular aim is coherently pursued through the implementation of certain elements of free-port policy. Genoa (as well as Livorno after the reforms of 1676) differed from Tangier under the English and from Marseille in that no distinctions were made between national shipping and foreign shipping. Beginning with the measures of 1654 the Genoese actively attempted to attract foreign merchants to the republic, essential for binding the interests of other nations to its own.

In any case, the free ports of the early modern period should not be seen as fruit of liberalistic thought or as pioneers of a laissez-faire economy. This is evident most of all in the English and French examples; giving special status and privileges to domestic vessels has nothing to do with faith in the free market.

The English port at Tangier was to be integrated perfectly with the precepts of the British navigation act; free port or no free port, goods bound for England went in English ships. And placing a surtax of 20 percent on non-French shipping in Marseille certainly does not favor the invisible hand of a free-market economy. The cases of Genoa and Livorno are no closer to Smithian notions of the benefits of free trade. First of all, the contemporary descriptions of ports and the declared rationale behind the *portofranco* demonstrate that belief in the possibility of increasing overall trade, or global traffic, through the pursuit of particular practices was completely alien to the policy makers of the seventeenth century. Contemporary thought held that "vessels rush to those places where they receive greater reductions to their expenses," and as a consequence many "safe and convenient ports . . . are avoided or scarcely frequented";[7] tariff reductions did not generate more trade, but reduced duties could draw traffic away from other ports. In short, it was a zero-sum game.[8] Again, this is evident in the selective nature of the geographic limits imposed with the clear intent of diverting traffic from one area to another and in the choice of goods to be admitted (or not) to the free port. If commerce in a particular item was already securely in Genoese hands, then it was not likely to be afforded free-port benefits. Furthermore, in the case of Genoa the biggest steps toward opening up the free port nearly always came immediately after political friction with the Spanish crown. The most "liberal" measures taken before the epidemic of 1656–57 can be seen in terms of a very political message of distance from Spain,[9] and later in terms of a very simple desire to bring port traffic back up to previous levels in the wake of the plague. In both cases there is no evidence of a liberal ideology but simply the application of pragmatic policy decisions.

So just where do the Republic of Genoa and its maritime policy fit in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mediterranean world? Exemplary in their ability to adapt to changing political and economic circumstances in the fifteenth and again in the sixteenth centuries, first by shifting the geographic area of concentration from the eastern Mediterranean to the west and the Iberian Peninsula, then by seizing the opportunity for enormous gains through financing the empires of Charles V and Philip II, the Genoese in the seventeenth century were unable to perpetrate yet another spectacularly successful transformation. That is not to say, however, that there was no successful transformation. Genoese merchants continued to play an active role in some of the century's richest trades, and during the latter half of the century the city of Genoa was still, of course, a very wealthy city and an important port and commercial

center.[10] Through their control of the exchange fairs at Novi the Genoese also continued to dominate the Italian money market.[11] The seventeenth-century transformation, however, was not as spectacular as the preceding ones, because it involved Genoese merchants overseas more than the republic itself.[12]

Genoa itself did not maintain its position as the controlling hub of a vast, European-wide commercial network as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, or a financial system as it had in the sixteenth century. Still, through the instrument of the free-port policy the republic was able, however, to create an entrepôt in the principal Ligurian port for the redistribution of goods in Lombardy and for the export of Italian goods overseas. In so doing, the Genoese were also able to guarantee the availability of goods for local consumption. And although the size of the merchant fleet sailing the republic's flag did begin to grow again toward the end of the seventeenth century, the Genoese depended heavily on foreign shipping for much of their trade. That foreign shipping, however, was not controlled by Genoese merchants, as was the case in the sixteenth century.[13]

This relative decline—the passage from being one of the most powerful forces in the Mediterranean during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to being an important economic center and southern Europe's (if not all of Europe's) financial hub during the sixteenth century, and finally to being a commercial and economic center of little more than regional importance by the late seventeenth century—was to a very considerable degree the price to be paid for survival. As the big European monarchies grew more able at tapping their vast resources, the city-state became outclassed. The attempt to rebuild Genoese naval power with the free galleys in the 1640s illustrates this phenomenon quite well. While the efficiency of the compact medieval city-state had allowed it to put together fleets comparable with and even greater than those of the relatively inefficient medieval monarchies, by the seventeenth century the forces assembled by the fairly well organized but small republic could not compare with those fielded by Spain or France. After having made a census of all the able-bodied men in the republic, the *nuovo armamento* was never able to provide crews for more than nine free galleys. Together with the galleys manned by slaves and convicts, the republic was able, with considerable strain to its finances, to keep fifteen galleys in operation, a fraction of the forces maintained at all times by the Spanish, the French, the English, or the Dutch.

In like manner, the commercial fortunes of the republic changed with the rise of the big monarchies and modern states. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Turkish and Portuguese expansion forced the Genoese to aban-

don their eastern colonies and to renounce their role in the lucrative spice trade. Within less than half a century after the voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama, though, the Genoese had found their "America" and their "Indies" in the financial machinery of the Spanish monarchy. Of course, many Genoese merchants participated in the oceanic trades from Lisbon and Seville,[14] but for the most part the Genoese tied their fate to that of the Spanish crown, profiting from the riches generated by Spanish colonies. The breakdown of Spanish hegemony, then, and the rise of the English and the Dutch, both on the world scene and as a presence in the Mediterranean, forced yet another transformation on the Genoese comparable with the one made in the fifteenth century. More than a decline in the silver shipments from the New World, it was the bellicose and immensely expensive foreign policy of the Spanish kings that created an intolerable degree of instability in the crown's financial mechanisms, eventually inducing the Genoese financiers to abandon their activities at court.

The subsequent emphasis on a return to "real" commerce, echoed in all of the proposals for revitalizing the republic's maritime vocation, meant returning to a Mediterranean that was very different from the one plied by Genoese carracks and galleys in centuries past. The protagonists of Mediterranean shipping were no longer the fleets of cities such as Genoa, Venice, Ragusa, Barcelona, and Marseille, but those of nation-states like France, England, and the United Provinces. Furthermore, the richest trades, those in "colonial" goods from the Indian Ocean, were irremediably in the hands of the Dutch and English, who had the resources necessary to create commercial empires on a global scale. After several inconclusive attempts to recreate the conditions of past success, it became clear that the small Ligurian state simply could not compete with the scale of operations in the hands of the Atlantic powers, and the attempts to do so ended in failure. The transition forced on the Genoese in the seventeenth century was that of finding a commercial role for a small country in a world of vast trading empires. The creation of the free port and an entrepôt traffic was the solution adopted. Thus, thwarted in their attempts to enter directly into the oceanic trades, the institution of the free port became the tool for drawing "colonial" goods to Genoa and ensuring the city a role of at least regional importance.

While this transition of roles and economies was necessary, it was nonetheless not linear. Or, rather, it was not the only line being followed. The various projects for resurrecting the republic's past naval power followed a separate line of development from the free port. The slowness with which a univocal con-

ception of the city's commercial role evolved in the late seventeenth century is exemplified in Genoa's attempt to open trading links with the Ottoman Empire, establishing diplomatic ties with Istanbul in 1666 (severed in 1682) in the hopes of carving out a piece of the Levant trade. Even at this late date, a number of oligarchs, the remnants of the "navalist party," still hoped to compete directly with the French, the English, and the Dutch. After the failure of the East India Company and the lackluster performance of the Maritime Company of Saint George in its attempt to enter the Brazil trade, an attempt was made to follow Brignole Sale's suggestion made in 1642, on the occasion of the new armament's inauguration, that the Levant trade was rich enough both "for those who ply the ocean and for those [who sail] the Mediterranean."[15] In 1665 the republic sent Gio Agostino Durazzo as ambassador to Istanbul to negotiate the concession of trading privileges to the Genoese.[16] An agreement was made in December 1666, and Sinibaldo Fieschi was named Genoese resident at Istanbul, while Ottavio Doria became the republic's consul in Smyrna.

Interestingly enough, relations were established with the Ottomans during a time of war between the English and the Dutch. The Genoese were astute enough to turn this fact to their favor. In justifying their requests before the sultan, they claimed that, "while due to the wars others no longer frequented the Levant ports, the republic's ships could take their place . . . [since] the Genoese deal daily with Spain and Portugal and with the wealthy kingdoms of the Spanish and Portuguese East and West Indies."[17] Although they chose a propitious moment when they could take advantage of the temporary difficulties of the English and the Dutch, the Genoese oligarchs were once again attempting to place the republic on the same level as those commercial empires. The role actually played by the republic fell far short of expectations. The only convoy organized by the state was the one sent to accompany Fieschi and Doria to their new positions between 1666 and 1667. Sinibaldo Fieschi was replaced in 1670 by Pompeo Giustiniani amid various scandals and personal debts. When Genoese privileges expired in 1682, the Turks did not renew them.[18] In the meantime Genoese merchants had developed a considerable though short-lived traffic there importing Genoese-made silk cloth.[19] At any rate, by 1682 the Anglo-Dutch wars and fighting between the Dutch and the French had ended, at least temporarily, and the raison d'être of the Genoese presence in the Levant, at least from the Turks' point of view, no longer existed. From that point on, Genoese trade with the East would have to depend on the ability of the city's free port to attract Levantine goods to Genoa.

As a small state among increasingly powerful nation-states and empires, the number of viable strategic choices open to the Republic of Genoa was limited. During the century, more or less, between 1528 and the nearly complete Genoese withdrawal from Spanish finances in the wake of the 1627 suspension of payments, the republic provided for its own protection through the alliance with Spain, in turn using its economic strength to guarantee independence. The Spanish Habsburgs were dependent on Genoese capital and financial expertise just as the republic was dependent on Spanish arms. Moments of tension between the two countries were marked either by Spanish attempts to do without the Genoese financiers, or by Genoese attempts to reduce their dependence on Spanish military might, or often both. Spanish hegemony over the western Mediterranean began to break down during the same years as the withdrawal of Genoese capital from court occurred. When the symbiosis ceased around midcentury, Genoese neutrality became obligatory. Economic interests in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Spanish colonial trades were too great to allow a complete distancing from Spain, but at the same time, in spite of the ambitious projects for naval rearmament, the republic lacked the means necessary to place itself on the same level as the century's greater powers. Apart from the occasional possibility of filling temporary voids left by conflicts between the English, the Dutch, and the French (for example, the success of the Genoese convoys during times of open fighting among the larger countries, or the brief period of trading relations with the Ottomans), survival depended on "binding up the interests of many states with [their] own."[20] It was again the economic strength of the republic that guaranteed its continued independence, economic strength directed toward the creation of an emporium and redistributive center for the Mediterranean trades of the Atlantic powers.

The two positions occupied by the Republic of Genoa over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, close ally of Spain and then neutral port of trade, typify the relations possible between small wealthy countries and big powerful ones. The small state, in order to avoid being absorbed or becoming a satellite with no autonomy, must either create a very close relationship with a single power, using its wealth to create a bond of mutual dependence, or else it must remain neutral in order to pit potential aggressors against one another. In the first case, the mutual dependence must be accompanied by the coercive power of denying access to the smaller state's wealth. This is the smaller country's only means of guaranteeing independence. In the second case, the small

country must place itself in such a position that several countries would want to avoid its falling into the hands of a rival power. This is possible if the small country occupies a vital geographic position, controls the supply of a particular resource, or in some way shelters the economic interests of several larger powers. The Republic of Genoa occupied a strategic position geographically and, with the development of the free port, set about satisfying the last of these three conditions as well.

Examples illustrating the passage from the intimate relationship with Spain to neutrality can again be drawn from the republic's experience at sea. The first example regards the changing fortunes of the Mediterranean maritime powers (or rather the maritime powers active in the Mediterranean) as seen in the popular revolts in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in 1647 and again in 1674. The first of the two rebellions was put down with substantial aid from the Republic of Genoa; not only did Carlo Doria help subdue the revolt in Naples with the Genoese galleys in the service of the crown, but the republic itself sent eleven galleys with their complement of soldiers to help reestablish Spanish control over Messina. Twenty-seven years later things went differently. The Spanish laid siege to the rebellious city of Messina and asked help in blockading the city from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Republic of Genoa, and the Knights of Saint John of Malta (whose galleys were sent without a standard in order not to prejudice Genoese participation). Louis XIV soon declared himself protector of the city, however, and the allied squadrons all abandoned the siege.[21] Given the weakened position of the Spanish and that country's much looser ties with the republic, neutrality toward France was seen as preferable to alliance with Spain.

A decade later, in 1684, the French tried to destroy the autonomy of the republic. A French fleet was sent before the city, and demands were made for the consignment of four of the republic's galleys, fully armed, for service with the French fleet. The French also demanded that Genoa allow the French to transport salt through the port of Savona, thus undermining one of the republic's principal sources of income, the *gabella del sale*, as well as its claims to sovereignty over the seas between the *riviere* and Corsica. The republic, which claimed neutrality in the broader conflict then underway, would also have been drawn into the war as an ally or satellite of the French. The Genoese were given less than one day to respond and, when the Genoese answered by firing on the French, Louis XIV's fleet bombarded the city for three days. The French fleet returned to Marseille only when it had run out of cannonballs, and both the

French and the Genoese took to attacking one another's merchant shipping. In the treaty that followed, the Genoese agreed to disarm their four new galleys but maintained their independence and neutrality.

The brutal aggression of the French fleet had achieved even less than the Spanish arrogance and meddling of only a few decades earlier. In spite of the disputes over the salute and precedence between ships, Spanish encroachments on the republic's territory, and interference with shipping in the Ligurian Sea, the Genoese did not waver in their loyalty to the Spanish crown until after mid-century, and even then they opted for a more rigid neutrality rather than breaking radically with the Spanish. In the case of the bombardment of Genoa, more important than the existence of the republic's tiny fleet was the fact that, in addition to the French fleet, there were also an English, a Dutch, and a Spanish fleet active in the Mediterranean. The republic's strength did not lay in its squadron of galleys, which it could easily agree to disarm, but in the interests bound up in its port.

Operating Costs of "Free Galleys," 1646

Estimated cost of launching two new galleys and operating expenses for one *galea di libertà* for four months of service. From "Relazione fatta ai Serenissimi Collegi da due Eccellentissimi Togati deputati onde pensar al modo di trovar denaro che è necessario per l'uscita di nove galere," November 2, 1646. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 58.

Apparati delle 2 Galee da getarsi In mare di nuovo	£40000.0.0
li 2 scaffi	40000.0.0
Salario del Gen[era]le, ufficiali, marin[a]ri e remieri n[umer]o 260 p[er] un mese	5223.16.0
vito d'ufficiali, e marin[a]ri p[er] un mese	508.11.0
vito de remieri, e sold[at]i p[er] un mese	2629.10.0
e p[er] minestra et altro p[er] d[ett]i	151.13.8
e p[er] legne, aceto, sale e carta, a calcolo p[er] un mese	100.0.0
e p[er] spalmatura a fuoco vino e noltatura di cevo p[er] un mese, e p[er] 4 500	125.0.0
prezzo di tutti li corredi di una Galea in un mese	300.0.0
	£9042.8.8
Calcoliamo la spesa come sopra p[er] mesi 4 Importa	£325524.0.0

From "Report Made to the Most Serene Colleges by Two Excellent Magistrates Appointed to Consider Ways of Financing a Squadron of Nine Galleys"

Apparati for the two new galleys to be launched	£40,000.0.0
the two hulls	40,000.0.0
Salaries for the general, officers, sailors, and 260 oarsmen for one month	5,223.16.0
rations for the officers and sailors for one month	508.11.0
rations for the oarsmen and soldiers[1] for one month	2,629.10.0
and for soup, etc. for the above	151.13.8
and for wood, vinegar, salt, and paper, estimated for one month	100.0.0
and for hot greasing,[2] wine, and tallow for one month (and for four [months], £500)	125.0.0
price of operating equipment for one galley for one month	300.0.0
	£9,042.8.8
Calculation of expences as above for [nine galleys for a period of] four months, total	£325,524.0.0

[1] Estimates of expenses are usually based on a complement of fifty soldiers.

[2] Preparation of the hull below the water line to protect against barnacles and to increase speed.

Breakdown of Annual Operating Expenses of a Mixed-Crew Galley, 1652

From "Circa il mantenimento di dieci galee. Conto minuto delle spese," April 8, 1652. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 41.

Sere.mi SS.ri
Havendo visto il decreto sod[det]to di comm[u]ne in noi fatta, et havuto considerat[io]ne al contenuto in esso; riferiamo a VV.SS. Ser[enissi]me, che dovendosi mantenere altre quatro Galee, oltre le sei ordinarie troviamo, che caoseriano speza da lire cinquantamilla in più annue p[er] ogn'una di esse, come dal conto distinto che a VV.SS. Ser[enissi]me si rappresenta, oltre la speza della prima impositione, e della solita guardia de soldati navigando, p[er] le rationi che si li sogliono dare, che importano sol[di] 10 al giorno, compreso pero sol[di] 4, che se li ritengono in Camera Ill[ustrissi]mo, o de Pr[estantissi]mi veditori; servendo ancora a VV.SS. Ser[enissi]me, che armandosi più delle sei Galee, avanseriano cento huomini da d[et]te sei, e resteriano ancora armate a raggione di 240 huomini p[er] ogn'una, e la Cap[ita]na di 330, essendo che al presente rimangono rinforzate, e la speza che si faria si redurrebbe in tutto proportionatam[en]te a meno di quello, che si fa adesso, e tutto quello, che staranno meno armate delli nove mesi saria tutto avanzo. Rispetto poi di dove si potesse cavare, o sia accrescere d'introito p[er] il conto sod[det]to, si lascia al prudente giuditio di VV.SS. Ser[enissi]me alle *qualis ita deliberat refferri p[ro] Pr[estantissi]mos p[ro]visores triremi[um] in pleno num[er]o omnibus concurrentibus, et Camera die 20 Martij 1652.*

Petrus Jo[hann]es Arena Canc[ellier]e

Cap[ita]no p[er] l'annuo soldo con suoi emolumenti	£497.0.4
Sue rationi in Genova p[er] d[et]to anno	438.0.0
Due gentil'huomini p[er] nove mesi a £20 ogn'uno il mese	360.0.0
Capellano a £16 il mese	192.0.0
Rationi p[er] li due gentil'huomini a ss.10 il giorno p[er] ogn'uno	270.0.0
Rationi p[er] il Capellano £135 però quando naviga altretanto	135.0.0
Comito a £18 il mese tutto l'anno	216.0.0
Sottocomito a £11.4 il mese p[er] mesi 9	100.16.0
scrivano come sopra	100.16.0
Consigliero a £18 il mese p[er] mesi 9	162.0.0
Agozino a £11.4 il mese p[er] un anno	134.8.0
Mastro d'ascia a £16.6 il mese p[er] 9 mesi	146.14.0
Calefatto come sopra	146.14.0
barilaro a £11.4 come s[opr]a	100.16.0
remolaro a £16.6 come s[opr]a	146.14.0
barbiere a £ 15 come sopra	135.0.0
due bombardieri a £15.14 l'uno p[er] 9 mesi	282.12.0
Per li sod[det]ti 12 officiali si puonno calcolare le rationi di parte doppia a ss.10 il giorno p[er] ogn'uno p[er] mesi 9	1620.0.0
otto timonieri a £10.4 p[er] 9 mesi	734.8.0
rationi a sud[det]ti a ss.10 il giorno come s[opr] a	1080.0.0
Sei parte e mezza a £ 8.10 p[er] mesi 9	459.0.0

rationi a sod[det]ti a ss.8 il giorno	648.0.0
Diece marinari di guardia p[er] un'anno a £6.16	816.0.0
rationi da parte sempia a ss. 6 il giorno	1090.0.0
quatro proeri a £5.2 p[er] mesi 9	183.12.0
rationi a ss. 6	324.0.0
Dassino, e calafatto p[er] ratione sola p[er] mesi 9	162.0.0
Due buonavoglia che servono p[er] mozzi ratione sola p[er] l'anno	216.0.0
Remieri non ostante che al presente ogni Galea ne habbi 260 e più, pare che trattandosi hora di maggior numero di Galee possano bastare 240. e sariano n[umer]o 96 forzadi, 60 schiavi, e 90 buonavoglia si calcola che fra biscotto e solita minestra p[er] li forzadi e schiavi a ss.4.8 il giorno	12845.0.0
e p[er] li 90 buonavoglia ss.6.8 il di	11010.0.0
stipendio delli buonavoglia a £50 p[er] ogn'uno	4500.0.0
Spalleri a ss.8 il di p[er] tutti due	146.16.0
Trombetti fra tutti otto a ss.15 il giorno	275.5.0
Tara di 3 p[er] cento sopra il biscotto si calcola cant[ar]a 39 a £15	555.0.0
Consumo di legne, sale, oglio p[er] li lampioni, aceto, e candele p[er] mozzi	869.0.0
polvere a calcolo p[er] un anno	200.0.0
vestiario sopra n[umer]o 150 remieri, che si excludono li 90 buonavog[li]a, i quali lo scontano a £14.5 p[er] ogn'uno	2137.10.0
Schiavine n[umer]o 25 a £5.10	137.10.0
Sachi n[umer]o 25 l'anno a £1.10	37.10.0
Tende d'arbaxo, e canevaccio calcolato che durino due anni, onde la metà del costo importa	610.0.0
Porte, tendali dalle bande, e di poppa, che servono p[er] due anni, si che la metà importa	256.0.0
Tele p[er] fodra d'esse come sopra	256.0.0
Vele sei, che si calcolano di consumo ogn'anno	1000.0.0
Sartiami frazano ogn'anno a calcolo	2000.0.0
Concia d'una galea a calcolo	670.0.0
Spalmare p[er] tre volte	550.0.0
barili da aqua detti da vino, e botte	137.0.0
catene e ferramenti a calcolo	400.0.0
qualche pezzo d'arbero	300.0.0
tagliami	20.0.0
fanali, lampioni, e trombette	60.0.0
Spago p[er] cucire vele, tende, et altro	50.0.0
Speciaria	300.0.0
incerata che dura quatro anni p[er] frazzo	25.0.0
frazzo de rami, e conciature	40.0.0
filo p[er] cucire le robbe, e sagoretta p[er] remi	150.0.0
frazzo delle fiamme	100.0.0
frazzo di piatti di stagno	20.0.0
	£ 51380.1.4

E più vi è la speza della guardia de soldati navigando, che importa di rat[ion]e ss.10 ogn'uno il di a calcolo.
E succederebbe, che armando più Galee delle sei si scemarebbe le chiusme a tutte, essendo che adesso rimangono rinforzate.
Si che resteriano con numero conveniente et la speza, che adesso si fa si redurrebbe in tutto proportionatam[en]te a meno di quello, che si fa adesso, e tutto quello che staranno meno armate delli 9 mesi sud[det]ti sarà di avanzo.

From "Concerning the Maintenance of Ten Galleys. Itemized Account of Expenses"

Most Serene Lords,
Having seen the above-mentioned decree, made together with us, and having taken into consideration its contents, we hereby refer to Your Serene Lordships that maintaining four galleys in addition to the six currently in service will cause an expense of fifty thousand lire or more annually each, as shown in the itemized list presented herewith representing the initial costs, the usual complement of soldiers, the usual rations which amount to 10 soldi a day, including however the 4 soldi withheld by the Most Illustrious Camera or the Distinguished Overseers. We also point out that the six galleys presently in service are reinforced and could be armed with only 240 oarsmen each, and the *capitana* with 330, and 100 oarsmen would thus be left over reducing expenses proportionally and should they remain in service for less than the nine months calculated, that would represent a further savings. Regarding then where the income could be found, or increased for the above, we leave that to the prudent judgment of Your Serene Lordships to whom *qualis ita deliberat referri pro Prestantissimos provisores triremium in pleno numero omnibus concurrentibus, et Camera die 20 Martij 1652.*
Petrus Johannes Arena Chancellor

Annual salary and payments of the captain	£497.0.4
His rations in Genoa for the said year	438.0.0
Two gentlemen for nine months at 20 lire each per month	360.0.0
Chaplain at 16 lire per month	192.0.0
Rations for the two gentlemen at 10 soldi each per day	270.0.0
Rations for the chaplain 135 lire and as much when he sails	135.0.0
Comito[1] at 18 lire per month for the whole year	216.0.0
Sottocomito at 11 lire 4 soldi per month for nine months	100.16.0
Scribe as above	100.16.0
Councilor at 18 lire per month for nine months	162.0.0
Agozino[2] at 11 lire 4 soldi per month for a year	134.8.0
Master carpenter at 16 lire 6 soldi per month for nine months	146.14.0
Caulker as above	146.14.0

[1] The *comito* was the officer responsible for the nonrowing crew, in other words for the sailors and other personnel dedicated to operating the vessels. The *sottocomito* was his lieutenant.

[2] The *agozino* was the officer responsible for the oarsmen. His responsibilities included not only their discipline and the correct execution of the rowing, but also that of protecting the oarsmen from abuse by the rest of the crew.

Cooper at 11 lire 4 soldi as above	100.16.0
Oar-maker at 16 lire 6 soldi as above	146.14.0
Barber at 15 lire as above	135.0.0
Two gunners at 15 lire 14 soldi each for nine months	282.12.0
For the above-mentioned 12 officers double rations can be calculated at 10 soldi a day each for nine months	1,620.0.0
Eight helmsmen at 10 lire 4 soldi [each] for nine months	734.8.0
Rations for the above at 10 soldi per day as above	1,080.0.0
Six portions-and-a half at 8 lire 10 soldi for nine months	459.0.0
Rations for the above at 8 soldi a day	648.0.0
Ten sailors for the guard for a year at 6 lire 16 soldi	816.0.0
Single rations at 6 soldi per day	1,090.0.0
Four bowsmen at 5 lire 2 soldi for nine months	183.12.0
Rations at 6 soldi	324.0.0
Carpenter's assistant and caulker at single rations for nine months	162.0.0
Two *buonavoglia* to serve as mates at single rations for a year	216.0.0
Oarsmen: while each galley at the present has 260 or more, it seems that with a greater number of galleys 240 can suffice for each. That is 96 convicts, 60 slaves, and 90 *buonavoglia*. Calculating 4 soldi 8 denari per day for biscuit and the usual soup for convicts and slaves	12,845.0.0
and 6 soldi 8 denari for the 90 *buonavoglia*	11,010.0.0
wages for the *buonavoglia* at 50 lire each	4,500.0.0
Two spalleri[3] at 8 soldi a day each	146.16.0
Eight trumpeters at 15 soldi a day each	275.5.0
Three percent tare on biscuit calculated at 15 lire for 39 cantari	555.0.0
Consumption of wood, salt, lamp oil, vinegar, and candles	869.0.0
Gunpowder for a year (estimated)	200.0.0
Clothing for 150 oarsmen (excluding the 90 *buonavoglia*) at 14 lire 5 soldi each	2,137.10.0
Twenty-five blankets at 5 lire 10 soldi each	137.10.0
Twenty-five sacks per year at 1 lira 10 soldi each	37.10.0
Awnings, estimating that they last two years, half the cost amounts to	610.0.0
Doorways and awnings for the sides and the poop, which last two years, thus half amounts to	256.0.0
Cloth covers for the above	256.0.0
Six sails, average consumption per year	1,000.0.0
Rigging, fraction consumed each year, estimate[4]	2,000.0.0
Various repairs for one galley, estimate	670.0.0
Preparing the hull [*spalmare*] three times	550.0.0
Barrels for water and wine	137.0.0

[3] The *spalleri* or *spallieri* were a sort of "chief oarsman" who set the rowing pace for the others.

[4] The items referred to as "fractions" correspond to an estimate of one year's wear or depreciation on the total cost of the item.

Chains and other ironwork, estimate	400.0.0
Replacement pieces for the masts	300.0.0
Scrap timber	20.0.0
Lamps and trumpets	60.0.0
String for sewing sails, awnings, etc.	50.0.0
Spices	300.0.0
Waxcloth, which should last four years, fraction [1/4]	25.0.0
Fraction of copper utensils	40.0.0
Thread for sewing and tallow for the oars	150.0.0
Fraction of the flames	100.0.0
Fraction of tin plates	20.0.0
	£51,380.1.4

In addition there is the expense for the guard of soldiers while under navigation, amounting to roughly 10 soldi per day each.

And since the galleys are currently reinforced, arming more than six, the crew of each would be reduced.

Thus we could have a convenient number and the current expenses would be reduced proportionally compared to the present expenditures and any time less than the above-mentioned nine months will represent a savings.

Notes

ASCG	Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASG/AS	Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio Segreto
ASCG/BS	Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova, fondo Brignole Sale
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BCB	Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
BNCF Magl.	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, fondo Magliabecchiano
BUG	Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova

PREFACE

1. A couple of good examples are Stone, *An Elizabethan*, and Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*.

2. See also Glete, *Navies and Nations*. Glete's analyses rely very heavily on a defense costs model and the notion of competitive systems for producing naval power, concluding that in the long run the creation of a state-owned, bureaucratized, and permanent navy revealed itself to be the best solution. Genoese abandonment of precisely that model should stimulate further thinking in this field. As Glete himself states, further work, especially comparative analyses that include the Mediterranean would be welcome.

3. See the analysis made of the Genoese case in Heers, *Le clan familial*.

ONE: The Republic Genoa in the Early Modern World

1. "The other truth that I have learned from the words of the Wise is that in mixing His glory with what is useful to us through navigation, God has given us the best and easiest way to establish a perfect and universal society among different peoples and lands. The three best and most important forms of good come from this. The first is civility of customs; the second is the communication of arts and sciences; and the third is the transport of merchandise, to meet the needs of each country, as we wish to demonstrate."

2. Vitale, *Breviario*, 3.

3. Vitale, *Breviario*, 3; Lopez, *Commercial Revolution*, 60–62; Lombard, *L'Islam*.

4. Epstein, *Genoa*, 13.

5. Epstein, *Genoa*, 14.

6. Vitale, *Breviario*, 6–7; Mantran, *L'expansion*, 154.

7. Epstein, *Genoa*, 14.

8. Lopez, "Aux origines."

9. Epstein, *Genoa*, 24–26.

10. Epstein, *Genoa*, 24; Kedar, "Mercanti genovesi," 23–24.

11. Caffaro, *Annali*.

12. A *fondaco* is an enclave in a foreign city under the jurisdiction of the merchants that lived and/or operated there—at times simply a warehouse and simple living quarters, at others an entire neighborhood separated from the rest of the city by defnesive walls.

13. Vitale, *Breviario*, 9–10.

14. Vitale, *Breviario*, 9–10.

15. Epstein, *Genoa;* Airaldi, *Genova;* Kedar, *Merchants;* Petti Balbi, *Simon Boccanegra;* Heers, *Gênes;* and, in general, Lopez, *Su e giù;* Pryor, *Geography, Technology*.

16. Chaunu, *L'expansion*, 92–93. The volume of traffic carried by sea from the Mediterranean to England and Flanders in the early fifteenth century has been estimated at 8,000 metric tons annually (6,000 carried in Genoese ships and 2,000 in Venetian vessels), roughly forty times the bulk volume of overland trade between the two poles.

17. On the role of Italian merchants in medieval Spain and Portugal and, more important, their influence on the early phases of Iberian expansion, see Verlinden, "Italian Influences," and Verlinden, "Transfer."

18. Apart from the obvious example of Columbus in the service of the Spanish, a number of Italians participated in the Portuguese voyages as well: Antoniotto Usodimare (Genoese), Alvise Ca' da Mosto (Venetian), and Antonio da Noli (Genoese). See D'Arienzo, "L'apertura," 374–75; Chaunu, *L'expansion*, 149–50.

19. The Portuguese voyages of exploration along the African coast, however, were open to foreign investment, as was the 1505 voyage to India (48,000 florins provided by German merchant houses, 38,000 by Genoese and Florentines). See Chaunu, *Conquête*, 250.

20. Enrique Otte provides an impressive, though not a systematic view of the many Genoese merchants and financiers active within the structure of the Casa de Contractación in Seville. Otte, "Il ruolo," 24–27; Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*.

21. Throughout the period, while the epicenter of Genoese activity was being moved westward, and well into the second half of the sixteenth century, the Giustiniani, by far the most wealthy of the nonnoble if not of all the city's *alberghi*, continued to draw a profit from the *maona* of Chios and their involvement in the Levant trade. Heers, *Gênes*, 391–92.

22. Lopez, *Su e giù*, 59.

23. Heers, *L'Occident*, 172–73.

24. Balard, *La Romanie;* Balard, "Il sistema portuale," 330–50.

25. Boyer-Xambeau et al., *Banchieri*, 30.

26. Vitale, *Breviario*, 166; Otte, "Il ruolo," 30–31. For financial assistance given to Charles VIII, see also Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 1:38.

27. Boyer-Xambeau et al., *Banchieri*, 30. Furthermore, discrediting the idea that the 1528 political realignment was merely a function of economic interests, of the 337 bills of exchange representing loans to Charles V by Genoese bankers between 1515 and 1525, 32 percent were drawn on Lyon; Otte, "Il ruolo," 32–33. Genoese interests in the Iberian Peninsula and in France were intertwined.

28. See Pacini, *I presupposti*.

29. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 2:727–31; Vitale, *Breviario*, 170.

30. Petti Balbi, *Simon Boccanegra*, 11. On the rather difficult definition of the term "noble" in the Genoese context, see the later discussion in this chapter.

31. Pacini, *I presupposti*, 260–67.

32. Savona had been taken by the French in 1526 during the initial phase of their assault on Genoa and retained under the direct sovereignty of the king. After many refusals, Francis I did replace Savona under Genoese jurisdiction, in July 1528, but only after losing nearly all support in the city.

33. See the first section in chapter 2.

34. Pacini, *I presupposti*, 260.

35. The term *asentista*, which will recur often in the following discussions of the relations between the Genoese and the Spanish crown, refers to a person bound to the crown through a contractual relationship, through an *asiento* (the term literally meaning "chair" or "seat" given to such contracts). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Genoese were involved in two distinct types of *asientos*, the *asiento de galeras* concerning the hiring out of armed and manned galleys for military purposes, and the *asientos* regarding the transferal, loaning, or simply exchanging of moneys for the crown.

36. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 153.

37. The Spanish ambassador to Genoa in 1527, Lope de Soria, saw control of the galleys and the fortress known as the Castelletto (dismantled by Doria after 1528) as the key to maintaining control over the city. Nearly thirty years later, in 1559, yet another Spanish ambassador, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, claimed that control of the city was still dependent on control of the galleys. Respectively, Pacini, *I presupposti*, 259; and Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 173.

38. Pacini, *I presupposti*, 268.

39. Sivori, "Il tramonto," 932. Sivori estimates that the Genoese exported silk cloth to France for more than 1 million gold scudi in 1530 and for 1,275,000,000 scudi between 1551 and 1556.

40. In spite of the French prohibition against trading with the Genoese in France, Genoese financiers continued to be active at the Lyon fairs between 1529 and 1534, up until the foundation of the Besançon fairs in 1535. Da Silva, *Banque et crédit*, 1:491; Boyer-Xambeau et al., *Banchieri*, 31.

41. Vitale, *Breviario*, 17, 29.

42. Vitale, *Breviario*, 91.

43. Petti Balbi, *Simon Boccanegra*, 34–35; but also Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 30–31. Boccanegra assumed power in 1339, but the decree excluding nobles from the offices dates from early 1340. Furthermore, the 1289 measure calling for the equal division of offices between nobles and nonnobles would imply a certain fluidity between the groups, but also that the passage from nonnoble to noble status was not obligatory upon holding office. In fact, Foglietta does not apply a specific date to the phenomenon of "nobles" joining the ranks of the *popolari*, simply dating it to the period between the Doria-Spinola diarchate and the *dogato* of Simon Boccanegra.

44. Bitossi, *Il governo*, 33.

45. Petti Balbi, *Simon Boccanegra*, 30.

46. The Maona di Scio was formed in 1373 as a reorganization of the original *maona* that had occupied the island in 1346. Vitale, *Breviario*, 134–35.

47. The direct descendants (over eighteen years of age) of anyone who had held an

official office of the republic before 1506 was eligible for inscription in the *Liber Nobilitatis* and hence the unified ruling class.

48. For a description of the Republic of Genoa's constitutions of 1528 and 1576, see Petracchi, *Norma "costituzionale."* See also the seventeenth-century manuscript ASG, ms. 675, *Magistrati coi quali si governava la Repubblica di Genova.*

49. Pacini, *I presupposti*, 302: "In questions regarding private patrimonies . . . they were to behave as though the present reform had not been made" ("Nelle questioni patrimoniali private . . . ci si doveva comportare come se *presens reformatio facta non fuisset*").

TWO: The Genoese and the Republic of Genoa

1. Ruiz Martin, *Lettres marchandes*; Braudel, *The Mediterranean;* Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 3.

2. Lapeyre, "La participation," 152–53. See also Carande, *Carlos V.* Carande provides a reconstruction of the financial details of Charles V's reign, including an analytical breakdown of the financiers active at court. The term *asiento* refers to two distinct types of contracts: fixed-term loans made to the crown, usually guaranteed by revenue from future taxes, and *asientos de galeras*, contracts governing the hiring of armed galleys for service under the crown.

3. Lapeyre, "La participation," 149.

4. The description that follows is naturally quite simplified. For more detailed analyses please see the many and extensive works listed in the bibliography.

5. Pacini, *I presupposti politici del "secolo dei genovesi." La riforma del 1528;* the title translates literally as *The Political Premises of the "Century of the Genoese": The Reform of 1528*.

6. Doria, "Conoscenza del mercato," 68.

7. Lapeyre, "La participation," 152.

8. Doria, "La gestione del porto," 141–42.

9. Grendi, "Problemi e studi," 1053.

10. Calegari, "Navi e barche," 26. These estimates, like those which follow, are based on the information found in the records of the port entrance taxes and exclude ships of under 71.5 tons and galleys, which were not subject to the tax.

11. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 336. Grendi's estimates are based on the *jactus navium*, the anchorage tax.

12. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1:615–21.

13. Average figures for the years 1592, 1594, 1595 and 1597, 1598, 1599, respectively. See Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 338.

14. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 339–49.

15. Calegari, "Navi e barche," 26. Calegari's figures are based on the registers of the *Gabella Mariorum* and the *Introitus Exitus*.

16. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 336.

17. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 336.

18. Gatti, *Navi e cantieri*, 20, 33–35.

19. Concerning ships built along the Ligurian *riviera*, see Calegari, "Legname," 79–148. For the appearance of foreign ships under Genoese ownership, see Gatti, "Compravendita," 149–87.

20. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 339–341.

21. By the term "auxiliary fleet" I mean those ships whose primary shipping activity

is integrated into the economy of a port or region different from that of the ships' port of origin.

22. Grendi, "Problemi e studi," 1039.

23. Brulez, "La navigazione flamande."

24. For a description of the rapid progresses of Dutch shipping and merchants in the Mediterranean during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1:631–40.

25. Tucci, "Traffici e navi," 61; Romano, "La marine marchande," 34.

26. Romano, "La marine marchande," 34.

27. Calegari, "Legname," 111–12.

28. ASG, Primi Cancellieri di San Giorgio, sala 39, busta 90: "Delibera dei Protettori sul modo di accordare un mutuo per la fabbricazione di navi" (1513).

29. ASG, Primi Cancellieri di San Giorgio, sala 39, busta 90: "Norma fabricationis navium de cetero fabricanda" (1514) and "Delibera dei Protettori per la concessione di una mutua dietro richiesta dei 12 incaricati per le cose del comune, per la fabbrica di navi" (1515).

30. ASG, Cancelleria di San Giorgio, F. Gerolamo Lazagna, 1520: "Pro fabrica navium" (1518).

31. On the relationship between the Casa di San Giorgio and the republic, see the next section in this chapter.

32. ASG, Primi Cancellieri di San Giorgio, sala 39, busta 90: "Delibera dei Protettori sul modo di accordare un mutuo per la fabbricazione di navi" (1513).

33. ASG, Primi Cancellieri di San Giorgio, sala 39, busta 90: "Norma fabricationis navium de cetero fabricanda" (1514).

34. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1:308.

35. Calegari, "Legname," 84; Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 198, 332; Grendi, "Problemi e studi," 1039.

36. Lane, "Technology and Productivity," 239. Lane mentions that technically a proportion of one man per ten tons was already possible in the fifteenth century, but that "As late as 1560, an independent observer sailing from Venice to Cyprus and then to England and listing all on board gave numbers averaging one man for each 7 or 8 tons, counting all from the master to the apprentices (*fanti*). When the English ships began coming into the Mediterranean in the 1590s they carried crews in the proportion of one man per 4 1/2 to 5 tons."

37. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 154–55. At midcentury in the sixteenth century the average galley carried a crew of 250 to 300 men (including soldiers), 150 to 170 of whom were oarsmen. See *Quando un principe*, ff. 105–8, BCB, m.r. VII.5.49. The length of the galley is given as 56 "gubiti" (41. 4 meters) and its beam as 30 "palmi" (7.4 meters). In 1639 the Genoese Compagnia di nostra signora di libertà armed two galleys and manned them both with 550 men. By the 1650s, however, galleys had grown and required 240 to 330 oarsmen alone and, when armed for war, carried a complement of roughly 90 soldiers. See Casoni, *Annali*, 5:241–45; ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 41, "Li Prestantissimi Provveditori delle Galee considerino . . ." (October 16, 1651), reproduced here in appendix B.

38. Brulez, "Les transports," 261. In spite of the costs of overland transport, which could run as high as five to ten times that of the maritime route, overland transport between Italy and the Low Countries was quite common at least until the 1620s, when the

Thirty Years' War began to interfere with such traffic. Given the higher costs of overland transport, freight costs accounted for only 2.9 to 5.8 percent of the selling price of silks sent from Genoa to Antwerp during the seventeenth century.

39. See Cipolla, *Tecnica*, and Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys*.

40. Crescenzio, *Della Nautica*, 287–88. Crescenzio also specifies that the best period for navigation with galleys runs from May 20 to September 24, and that the periods March 20 to May 20 and September 24 to November 22 are neither favorable nor excessively dangerous. He adds that during the winter months "prudent princes, except when it is urgent, withdraw their fleets into port" (i prudenti Prencipi, salvo quando molto gli preme, retirano le sue armate in porto). By the late sixteenth century it had become common to send galleys out even in the winter months; the Genoese galleys invariably transported bullion from Spain during the winter, after the arrival of the *flota de la plata* in Seville. By 1611 at the latest the Knights of Saint John of Malta kept their galleys armed year round. See Pallavicino, *Inventione;* and *Risposta della Santa Religione Gierosolomitana alla vana pretensione de Genovesi*, BNCF, ms. II.III.476, ff. 98r–108r.

41. That the galley was not replaced by the broadside sailing vessel equipped with cannon is illustrated by an eloquent example: as late as 1669 Charles II of England commissioned the construction of two galleys, one to be built in the arsenal of Genoa and the other in Pisa, to be used for the protection of English shipping in the Mediterranean. ASG/AS, Lettere Principi, 2782 (November 23, 1669).

42. There is a great deal of literature on the development of ship types in late medieval and early modern Europe. For medieval shipping, see Pryor, *Geography, Technology*; Lane, *Venetian Ships*; Rose, *Medieval.* For the early modern period, see Lane, "Technology"; Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys*; Cipolla, *Tecnica*; Glete, *Warfare*; and, for Liguria, Gatti, *Navi e cantieri*.

43. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 156.

44. ASF, Carte Strozziane, I serie, filza 302, ff. 159–60, reproduced in Borghesi, "Informazioni," 176–79.

45. Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys*, 30.

46. Savelli, "Giovanni Andrea Doria," 365.

47. Thompson, *War and Government*, 176–77; Pallavicino, *Inventione.* Pallavicino also mentions a galley "de Spinola" in 1585, but the reference could be to the galley *Diana* of the republic, captained in 1585–86 by Paris Spinola.

48. Savelli, "Giovanni Andrea Doria," 371.

49. Thompson, *War and Government*, 167.

50. Thompson, *War and Government*, 170–73. Thompson mentions a 1571 estimate giving the operating costs of a galley at 5,653 ducats a year, but in 1574 effective operating costs were more than 13,000 ducats per galley, and in 1581 not one galley consumed less than 15,000 ducats. In 1571 Doria's galleys, which were still privately owned, cost the crown 10,542 ducats each (or 9,732 each counting the larger *capitana* and *patrona* each as a galley and a half, as was the custom), while the other Genoese galleys in Philip's pay cost 8,095 ducats per year (see Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys*, 32–33). For comparison, in 1528 Andrea Doria received 60,000 ducats for the maintenance of twelve galleys (including his own salary), and in 1568 the Republic of Genoa was spending between 65,000 and 70,000 lire annually (roughly 15,500– 16,700 ducats) on its three galleys (Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 3, 2168, and see my comments in chapter 3).

51. Thompson, *War and Government*, 167.

52. Savelli, "Giovanni Andrea Doria," 366–67. Grimaldi, also known as "the monarch," was one of Genoa's wealthiest men and one of the most powerful bankers at the Spanish court. He also, like Doria, had acquired a princely title, Prince of Salerno. Doria could not accept the passage of the prestige and patronage system embodied in the galleys to such a strong rival who would surely have eclipsed him in Genoa.

53. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 154.

54. Thompson, *War and Government*, 177.

55. Thompson, *War and Government*, 182.

56. Parker, *The Army of Flanders*.

57. Andrea Spinola (1562?–1631), whom we shall meet again, repeatedly denounced the dangers of the concentration of power in the hands of a restricted number of oligarchs.

58. Spinola, *Scritti scelti*, 87: "Tiene qui un stuolo di 16 o 18 galee, per mezzo delle quali tiene interessato buon numbero de' nobili, a' quali resta sempre debitore di grossissime somme, le quali si vanno pagando mano in mano con stento grande; ma chi volesse uscirne sarebbe gran fortuna il potere ottenere ciò che si ha avere da sua Maestà."

59. Savelli, "Giovanni Andrea Doria," 366: ". . . veniria insieme a perdere la maggior parte della riputatione che ha, essendo che con un corpo de armata de undici galere che possede, mette quasi in necessità questa corona di valersi di lui" and ". . . con questa vendita vien ad haver perso et in Genoa et da per tutto molto della sua prima reputation."

60. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 332.

61. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1:510, 638; see also my discussion in chapter 3.

62. Thompson, *War and Government*, 199–202. Nine ships were provided by the brothers Nicola and Sebastiano Giudici Fieschi who, resident in Barcelona, had the ships built in Catalonia. Giacomo Marini also held a contract for the construction of nine galleons and a *patache*, which were under his command as captain general of the squadron. The Giudici Fieschi on the other hand merely reserved the right to nominate the officers of their squadron.

63. "In Italy we have two flourishing republics: Venice and Genoa. Of the two, Venice is without doubt much greater than Genoa, in its institutions and in size. If we seek out the reasons for this, we will find that in attending to real commerce individual Venetians have grown only moderately wealthy, while the collectivity has become infinitely more so. In Genoa, on the other hand, the means of individuals investing in finance has grown without measure, but the public income is extremely impoverished."

64. The city's walls were extended in 1539 and in 1553. The Corsican rebellion of Sampiero della Bastelica, openly supported by the French and by the Ottoman fleet, began in 1553 and ended with the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. A second rebellion broke out in 1563, again with more or less open French support. It was finally put down in 1569.

65. At least during the sixteenth century, the proclaimed neutrality of the Republic of Genoa must be read in this sense; an open political alignment with the Habsburgs would have been detrimental to the commercial activities of many of the republic's citizens who operated in countries hostile to Spain.

66. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, 420: "If it should come about, and with time it is inevitable, that Saint George should occupy the entire city [of Genoa], that would be a re-

public more worthy of memory than the Venetian" (E s'egli avenisse, che col tempo in ogni modo avverrà, che San Giorgio tutta quella città occupasse, sarebbe quella una Repubblica più che la Vineziana memorabile.)

67. For the organization of the Casa di San Giorgio, see Grimaldi, *Casa di San Giorgio*, ASCG; Peri, *Il negotiante*, 2:95–97.

68. ASG, *Antica Finanza*, filza 708. The proportions are confirmed by the late sixteenth-century report published by Fernand Braudel: the estimated income of the state is given as 700,000 scudi d'oro, 400,000 of which alienated to San Giorgio (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, manuscrits, Fonds Français, doc. 16073, published in *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII–XX. Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977). The balance sheets of the republic for the years 1594, '95 and '97 seem to confirm at least the figure given for the Camera of the republic: 418,778 lire in 1594, 416,234 in 1595 and 427,733 in 1597. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1651, fasc. 6.

69. Machiavelli's assessment of the relationship between the bank and the republic lies at the origin of a long series of similar views of the state and the financial institution, which tend to overlook the fundamentally financial character of the indissoluble link between the two. See Savelli, "Tra Machiavelli e San Giorgio."

THREE: Public Galleys and Private Interests, 1559–1607

1. Grendi, *Introduzione*, 48, provides the figure for 1531; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 218– 20, provides the other figures. Grendi also indicates that the population of the city of Genoa was roughly one-fifth the total population of the republic.

2. Among the many descriptions of Fieschi's attempted takeover and Fornari's plot, see the contemporary account in Bonfadio, *Annali*, 70–73, 96.

3. In 1536 Cesare Fregoso had tried to take the city with the support of a contingent of French soldiers. Fregoso was unable, though, to rouse supporters in the city and had to abandon the attempted coup.

4. Recco, *Historie*, 222, BCB. The author is often referred to as Giovanni Cibo, or Giovanni Cibo Recco using the name of the *albergo* (Cibo) to which the Recco family was assigned during the reforms of 1528.

5. In 1543 the King of France had requested the same treatment in Genoa as was reserved for the emperor: a resident ambassador, access to the ports of Liguria, and access to the financial services of the Genoese, commenting bitterly that it seemed "reasonable, that the substance of the Genoese being open to Caesar . . . they should not be closed to him alone" (parendogli cosa ragionevole, che essendo le sostanze de' Genovesi aperte a Cesare . . . non dovessero esser chiuse a lui solo); Bonfadio, *Annali*.

6. Recco, *Historie*, 380. Recco estimates that during the six years of fighting between August 1553 and the French withdrawal in August 1559 that the war had cost Genoa 130 million gold scudi.

7. Recco, *Historie*, 276–78. When news arrived in 1554 that the French and Turkish fleets had joined forces in Algeria, Doria abandoned Corsica with his galleys and the Spanish troops, much to the disappointment of those in Genoa who favored a more vigorous prosecution of the war. Also Recco, *Historie*, 360–72; in 1558 the subjects of the Count of Finale, Alfonso del Carretto, rebelled and asked the Senate of Genoa to intervene in their favor (at the same time threatening to appeal to the French should the re-

public refuse). The republic responded sending an ambassador to negotiate, but when word got out that Alfonso was arming troops, Genoa sent forces to occupy the city, which constituted an inconvenient gap in the republic's territorial continuity along the western *riviera*. Andrea Doria, tied to the del Carretto by a long-standing family alliance, abandoned the Genoese and apparently instigated a move by the emperor and the Spanish to force the Genoese to retreat, thus allowing Alfonso to regain control of Finale under imperial protection.

8. "Instituzione del Magistrato Illustrissimo de Provisori delle Galere, sua Aotorità, et ampliazioni, Jesus MDLVIIIJ Die 12 Julij," in *Raccolta di leggi e decreti riguardanti il prestantissimo magistrato delle galee*, BCB, m.r. VII.2.29, ff. 7r–8v. On the organization and finances of this magistrature, see Borghesi, "Il Magistrato delle galee."

9. Recco, *Historie*, 379.

10. Uberto Foglietta (1518–81) and his brother Paolo became symbols of the *nobili nuovi*'s cause in the political battles against the old nobility. A cleric, U. Foglietta, was banished in 1559 and took refuge first in Turin. He was later offered the protection of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. He was invited back to Genoa in 1576 when he was appointed the republic's official annalist until his death.

11. "Ne pure vi è speranza, che l'antica gloria; & li perduti stati ricuperiamo, anzi facendosi le notabili giatture, che da pochi anni in qua si sono fatte, ci soprastà la perdita di quello , che ci avanza; & di essa Patria insieme." Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 5.

12. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 7: "Percioche anchora che quella della Corsica sia una gran perdita, nondimeno ce ne soprasta una altra maggiore; ne in cio possiamo accusare la ingiuria della Fortuna; o darne colpa alle stelle; ma bene alle nostre passioni, le quali se non lasciamo, . . . temo che appresso la Corsica non perdiamo noi stessi anchora."

13. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 81. The author refers to the reforms of 1528 as "the right path" (la buona strada).

14. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 68: "li inestimabili danni dati alla Patria, la loro crudelissima Tirannide di tanti anni; le perpetue vessationi, la ruina di essa Patria."

15. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 75.

16. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 75–80.

17. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 81: "[T]he so-called Gentlemen want a certain superiority over the other citizens, which keeps the city disunited" (li chiamati Gentil'huomini vogliono una certa superiorità supra gli altri Cittadini la qual cosa tiene disunita quella Città).

18. One of the most romanticized episodes of Genoese history and the Italian Cinquecento in general, Fieschi's attempt to overthrow the Dorias' predominance over the city should not be read in terms of a desire to reform the republic in more egalitarian terms. Gian Luigi Fieschi's attempt to take the city was motivated by a personal desire for power and if anything by rivalry with the Doria whose consolidation of power had come about at considerable expense to the Fieschi.

19. A description of the procedures used in forming the principal organs of the republic as prescribed by the laws of 1528, 1547, and 1576 is provided in ASG, ms. 675, "Magistrati coi quali si governava la Repubblica di Genova." See also Petracchi, *Norma "costituzionale."*

20. Bonfadio, *Annali*, 90: "In questo tempo a gli otto Cittadini, li quali habbiamo detto essere stati deputati per veder se nella Repubblica cosa alcuna fosse da riformar,

furono aggiunti quattro Senatori, li quali conferiti li loro consigli con Andrea Doria fecero, che si cangiassero alcune leggi pertinenti al supremo magistrato, perche come ultimamente si haveva conosciuto, pareva che dovessero apportar seditione nella Città."

21. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 90: "Il primo, perchioche tende a mantenere viva la memoria di questi dui colori"; ". . . essendo essi pochissimo numero, & gli altri crescendo quasi ogni anno di sette famiglie, & tal volta di dieci, viene ad essere fra questi dui colori una disugualianza troppo sproporzionata." Any citizens inscribed in the *Liber Nobilitatis* through the provision allowing for the elevation of up to ten individuals a year to noble status were automatically considered *nuovi*.

22. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 92: "Perche altro volete voi, se non perche sono molte attioni, le quali chi le fa ha in odio la luce?"

23. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 100: "cagione di tutti li mali che habbiamo."

24. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 100–101: ". . . quelli del colore Nobile . . . procacciano & difendono che in una Città libera siano Cittadini potentissimi, & di eccessive forze, & la Republica, sia debole & disarmata . . . li quali potenti poi hanno li loro particolari fini & dissegni diversi da quelli dell'universale."

25. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 134: "Dare le Gallee alla Patria, che questa sola è la pruova, che egli preferisce alla grandezza della casa il bene publico. . . . Altrimente come si potrebbe egli domandare liberatore, se egli lasciasse in casa sua una potentia, la quale puo opprimere la libertà?"

26. Foglietta, *Della Repubblica*, 135: "Risolviamoci pur Noi a unirsi da dovero, & a stabilire uno stato glorioso, mantenendo sempre Cinquanta Galee sforzate, le quali saranno la salute nostra, & quelle che ci faranno rispettare cosi da tutta la Italia, come da tutti gli altri Principi et senza altra spesa ci faranno restituire la Corsica, & ci assicureranno il traffico, il quale è la vita nostra, et daranno un continuo inviamento, & honesto essercitio et intratenimento alla nostra gioventu, la quale hora per il piu otiosa è sforzata a darsi a mille male arti."

27. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 69: "Era indubbiamente una vittoria dei Nuovi."

28. Recco, *Historie*.

29. Recco, *Historie*, 235. In August 1553 the Corsican rebel Sampiero della Bastelica was put ashore with a contingent of Italian mercenary infantry hired by the French. The rebellion was actively supported by the combined French and Turkish fleets.

30. Bonfadio, *Annali*, 23–24, 26. See my comments in this chapter.

31. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 2:726 and 3:2090.

32. Bonfadio, *Annali*, 43, 59.

33. Giovanni Recco was from a family active in silk manufacture and perhaps the brother of Stefano Recco, a member of the Maggior Consiglio who pronounced himself in favor of arming galleys during the debates of the late 1560s.

34. Recco, *Historie*, 256: "si spendeva il danaro con grande perdita di tutta l'università; molti procuravano che andasse in lungo la guerra, e procuravano di essere pagati ogni mese."

35. Recco, *Historie*, 277: ". . . senza Galee non si può conservare la Repubblica ne si può difendere la dignità de Genovesi, ne rendere timidi, a sudditi ubbidienti gli inimici, onde giudico essere necessario armare Galee Cinquanta fino in 80."

36. Recco, *Historie*, 278.

37. In reference to this episode, the author of a 1599 proposal for enlarging the city's

arsenal complains that while "in 1554 the construction of 50 to 80 galleys was approved, . . . we can only regret that our forefathers paid such little attention to the execution [of the decision]" (l'anno 1554 fù deliberata la fabrica di 50, sino in 80 corpi pur di galere, cosi non possiamo salvo dolersi che habbino li nostri maggiori curato cosi poco l'esecutione), ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029, doc. 16.

38. "Instituzione del Magistrato Illustrissimo de Provisori delle Galere, sua Aotorità, et ampliazioni, Jesus MDL VIIIJ Die 12 Julij."

39. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 173.

40. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galee," 200.

41. *Raccolta di leggi e decreti riguardanti il prestantissimo magistrato delle galee*, BCB, m.r. VII.2.29, ff. 1r–4r, "Deliberazione di tener continuamente armate le Galere, et assignazione alla spesa, come in la posta MDLX die xxx Martij."

42. *Raccolta di leggi e decreti riguardanti il prestantissimo magistrato delle galee*, BCB, m.r. VII.2.29, ff. 4v–5v, "MDLX die xxviii 9mbris."

43. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galee," 194, 195.

44. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galee," 212–13; Vitale, *Breviario*, 226.

45. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galee," 203–5.

46. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1650, fasc. 69, "Ricordo" (1566).

47. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1650, fasc. 69, "Ricordi delli Gallere, con la posta al minor Consiglo" (July 20, 1568).

48. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1650, fasc. 69, "Ristrintione per il Duce . . ." (July 20, 1568); a proposal for increasing the financial support for the galleys estimates an income of 2,400 lire per galley annually for freight charges.

49. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galee," 219. Approximately 26,000 lire.

50. For the methods used in managing public finances and in particular the relationship between the republic and San Giorgio, see chapter 2.

51. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galee," 207.

52. See ASG, Magistrato delle Galee, Contente, filza 1, for the series of orders for biscuit to "Francesco Lomellino & fratelli." The polemical dialogue *Paolo e Uberto* of 1575, BNCF II.IV.312 (also in ASCG/BS 103.A.3), also accuses "Agostino Lomellino e fratelli," who provided biscuit to the galleys, profiteering at the republic's expense.

53. ASCG/BS, 103.A.3, *Genova Roma*, f. 19r–v: "non ti immaginar che egli sia zelo della religione o il desiderio del bene pubblico come eglino dicono, perché questi sono tutti orpelli per abbellir la festa: il loro callo è l'amor proprio, il quale non comportando in altri né favori, né richezze ne grandezza, gli tiene disuniti come eglino sono." See also Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica*, 5n; this work gives a detailed analysis of the step-by-step development of the 1575–76 conflict and the negotiations that produced the Leges novae, the 1576 reform of the constitution.

54. ASCG, ms. 396 (January 1, 1575), provides a numerical breakdown of the nobility. The total number of nobles is put at 1,799, 717 *vecchi* and 1082 *nuovi*. See Doria and Savelli, " 'Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 446.

55. This theme, already present in Foglietta, is carried much further in the 1575 dialogue *Paolo e Uberto*, BNCF II.IV.312, ff. 149–70, and is given considerable weight as one of the principal causes of the conflict by the author of the *relazione* of 1597. The dialogue, written during the first months of the insurrection and whose title clearly refers to Uberto Foglietta and his brother Paolo, expresses a radical *nuovi* point of view. In order

to gain official recognition of the distinction between factions, a number of *vecchi* families sought to have the Senate approve family trees with the excuse of clarifying questions of inheritance within the *alberghi.* The genealogies were generally reputed to be false by the *nuovi:* "[T]he tree with the most recent origin came from Jove, others from Saturn and others from Mars, some from father Adam . . . and others would have no other father than God himself, or even higher up if there were a way to get there" (e di questi Arbori quello che havesse più fresco principio veniva da Giove, chi da Saturno, e che da Marte alcuni dal padre Adam . . . e volevano che havessi padre altri ch'Iddio istesso, e altri più su se vi è camino d'andarvi). Resentment became political confrontation when the *nuovi* succeeded in blocking approval of the Lomellini family tree while Gianotto Lomellini was doge (1571–73); see *Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova con discorso del suo governo et Leggi fatta l'anno 1597*, BNCF II.IV.42, ff. 50r–53r (a more complete version, and probably the oldest extant copy of this manuscript, can be found in the ASG, Biblioteca, ms. 129; for the sake of convenience I quote the BNCF copy).

56. Two examples are carried to the level of caricature in the dialogue *Paolo e Uberto*, f. 159v: "Nicolò Grimaldi now Prince of [Salerno, title] bought with money earned through usury with the Catholic King of Spain charging such honored interests as 60 and 70 percent because, he says, if he has to go to hell he may as well go for a lot rather than a little" (Nicolò grimaldo Principe hora di [Salerno] acquistato con denari guadagnati ad usura col Re Cattolico d'Hispagna caricandoli honoratissimi Interessi de 60 et 70 per 100 perche dice, che s'ha d'andar al'Inferno, cosi li andarà per poco come per assai); and f. 162v: "[Silvestro Cattaneo] for the familiarity he has with God loans at 10 percent sooner than at nine" (per la familiarità c'ha con Dio dà ad usura a 10 per 100 piu presto ch'a nove). See also my discussion in chapter 2.

57. Recco, *Historie*, 222: "con più di Cento navi mercantili attendevano al negozio."

58. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 336–39.

59. For a discussion of early modern Genoa's guild structure, see Massa, "Tipologia industriale."

60. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galee," 193, 216.

61. *Sogno sopra la Repubblica di Genova veduto nella morte di Agostino Pinello* (1567), BCB, F. Ant., m.r. VII.5.50, and BUG, B.I.19.

62. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 69.

63. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 69, summary of 1565 "Ricordi" by Bartolomeo Sauli.

64. "tutti sorti seti, e panni di lana," ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 69, summary of 1565 "Ricordi" by Bartolomeo Sauli.

65. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 69, "Ricordo di Laurentio Capellone": ". . . non si può pensare di cavar alcun reddito al pubblico se non col imporsi qualche gravezza la quale suole esser odiosa tuttavia la necessità non ha legge che la possa correggere, et nella Città i carichi sono in colmo, bisognarebbe dunque volgersi a' pensare di fuori."

66. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 69, "Ricordi per il maggior consiglio" (May 30, 1566).

67. Savelli, "Tra Machiavelli e S. Giorgio," 289–90.

68. *Sogno sopra la Republica di Genova veduta nella morte di Agostino Pinello*, BUG, B.I.19, c. 72r.

69. See chapter 2.

70. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 69, "Ricordi" (May 1567). Stefano Recco was a relative, perhaps even the brother of the historian Giovanni.

71. *Paolo e Uberto*, BNCF II.IV.312, ff. 152r–153r: "il piu delle volte erano ottanta di detti nobili vecchi, e, li altri venti erano buoni pastorj."

72. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 69, "Ricordi delli Gallere, con la posta al minor Consiglio" (July 20, 1568): ". . . che per hora si tengano le tre et quando non se posse suplire per hora si tengano solo due armate."

73. Doria, "Un quadriennio critico," 378–79.

74. Doria, "Un quadriennio critico," 384.

75. This sort of activity is described in the contemporary account by G. B. Lercaro, *Le Turbolenze di Genova dell'Anno 1575*, ASCG, ms. 123, also ASG, ms. 953.

76. Lapeyre, "La participation des genois," 153–54.

77. Doria, "Un quadriennio critico," 382. See also Lapeyre, "La participation des genois," 153, 155. Lapeyre calculates the cumulative interest on the *asientos* made between 1552 and 1556 at 48.81 percent.

78. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, SS, Genova 3, ff. 290–91; quoted in Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica*, 119n.

79. Savelli, "Tra Machiavelli e S. Giorgio," 293–94.

80. Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica*, 30–33, 36–37. The author of the *Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova* (1597) refers to the bond between the *nuovi* and the silk workers as well, though he depicts the relationship as one of manipulation on the part of the new nobles: "[B]efore the conflict the old nobles wanted to raise the wages of the *Plebe*, and were always blocked by the new nobles, but with the outbreak of the conflict the new nobles, to win over the souls of the *Plebe*, raised the wages for silk weavers, who at that time were believed to be 15,000, by 3 soldi per yard" (avanti alle Discordie volsero i vecchi accrescere i prezzi a lavori della Plebe, e fur sempre impediti da nuovi, ma nascendo le discordie, i nuovi per prendere gl'animi della Plebe accrebbero tre soldi per braccio di fattura a' tessitori di sete, che in quel tempo si credeva fossero 15[000]), BNCF II.V.42, f. 64v.

81. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1650, fasc. 26 (March 15, 1575).

82. In a letter from Gian Andrea Doria to Francesco I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (October 1575), Doria claims there can be no question "whether the [faction] that is outside must return to the city or not, since [their] return is . . . clear and must precede all else" (se quella che è fuori, debba tornare alla Città o no', che il ritornarvi sicuramente . . . è chiaro che deve precedere a tutto), BNCF Magl. Cl. XXX cod. 23, f. 29v.

83. ASG, Cancellieri di San Giorgio, filza 324.

84. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 112, ff. 79–81.

85. Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica*, 142.

86. *Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova*, BNCF II.V.42, f. 67v: "con bell'artificio fù poi da nuovi trattenuta, in maniera che non si fece."

87. *Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova*, BNCF II.V.42, ff. 67v–68r: ". . . quando poi nel giorno che s'annullo la legge del 47 i vecchi proposero che si lasciasse il governo nelle mani della Plebe, con che ne i vecchi ne i nuovi vi havessero parte, non vollero i nuovi sentirne parola."

88. Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica*, 95.

89. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 21.

90. On the question of "mechanical arts," see Doria and Savelli, "'Cittadini di governo' a Genova." See also *Leges Novae*, ASG, Biblioteca, ms. bibl. 5; *Leges novae reipublicae genuensis*, Milan, 1576.

91. Due to recognition of services rendered, Lorenzo Spinola was the only Genoese financier not affected by the suspension of payments. Lapeyre, "La participation des genois," 156.

92. Doria, "Un quadriennio critico," 380.

93. Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica*, 119.

94. Doria, "Un quadriennio critico," 392.

95. Neri, *Uomini d'affari*, 54–55.

96. As early as August 1577 suspicions arose again that the old nobility, and Gian Andrea Doria in particular, were plotting to hand the republic over to the Spanish. The Spanish ambassador, Don Juan Idiaquez, had been "spreading division" among the Genoese and explaining that if Philip II possessed Genoa he would use the Ligurian port to provide for the needs of his entire fleet, bringing considerable work to the city. When in this climate Gian Andrea Doria left the city with his entire household, it was generally held to be a sign of an imminent invasion by the Spanish. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860, f. 156: "Sommario delli avisi venuti di Genova per lettera de 9 del presente" (August 1577): "Here it is held for certain that the Spanish have plans against the city . . ., and they [the people] believe this to be so, that the nobility has reached an agreement to give the city to the Spanish and since Gian Andrea Doria, with his entire household, has gone to his castle called Toriglia, fifteen miles from Genoa, the whole city has begun to say that he has left in order not to be here when the fighting begins" (Si va tenendo per certiss. o che gli spagnuoli habbino dissegnio nella Città . . ., et in loro [la plebe] nasce pensiero affermativo, che la nobiltà habbi trattato certo per dare via la Città alli Spagnoli et essendosi mosso il signor Gio: Andrea Doria, con tutta la sua casa, et itosene ad'un suo castello chiamato Toriglia discosto a Genova XV miglia si è levato un nome per la Città che il signor Gio Andrea si sia partito, per non si trovare al conflitto).

97. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 112, ff. 177–78.

98. *Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova*, BNCF II.V.42, f. 144r–v: "[The *vecchi*] made Prince Doria captain general of the whole undertaking, and with so much authority that with any more they would have had an absolute master, and perhaps he would have become one if the war had lasted. . . . All the places that they took they owed to his name" (e di tutta l'Impresa fecero Generale Capitano il Prencipe Doria, e con tanta auttorità che niente più si havesserebbe havuta un Padrone assoluto e tale forsi si sarebbe fatto se la guerra durava. . . . tutte le Piazze che si prendevano dovevano a suo nome).

99. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 36–37. See also ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860, f. 195; in December 1584 Doria presented himself at Fabrizio Pallavicino's wedding with an escort of halbardiers, that is, as a prince rather than as a citizen. As the Duke of Tuscany's correspondent wrote, "it was a pretty sight, but the citizens, and most of all the *grandi*, were not at all pleased" (che fu bella vista, ma no' punto grata all'universale de cittadini, et massime de grandi).

100. Bitossi, *Il governo dei magnifici*, 167–68.

101. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 37–38.

102. This is the reading given by Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys*.

103. Thompson, *War and Government*, 168, 170.

104. On corsair activity in general see Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo.* On the Barbary states in particular, see Heers, *The Barbary Corsairs*.

105. Thompson, *War and Government*, 171–75.

106. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at July 1, 1584; Roccatagliata, *Annali,* 32–33. Pallavicino puts the number of Algerian galleys at twenty.

107. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at July 1, 1584.

108. Roccatagliata, *Annali,* 34: "molte volte a quei del borgo e della villa di Sampierdarena senza veruna causa si posero in fuga."

109. Borghesi, "Il magistrato delle galere," 221. It is curious that the owners of the precious metals sent were all members of the Spinola family, old nobles. See also Pallavino, *Inventione*, who habitually notes the arrival of the galleys and the amount of money they were said to carry. For examples of regulations regarding such transport, see ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1651, fasc. 60, "Capitoli del Magistrato delle Galere con li Magnifici Saluzzo e (Filippo Cattaneo) pel viaggio da farsi colle Gallere per la Spagna" (October 12, 1606).

110. ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1027, doc. 137 (July 5/August 21, 1584). When the documents of the collection Propositionum bear two dates, the reference is to the dates of the proposal's votation in the Minor and Maggior Consigli, respectively.

111. ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1027, doc. 137 (July 5/August 21, 1584): "per tal mezzo [the armament of galleys] restariano diffese le nostre Riviere, et l'Isola di Corsica dalle incursioni e prede de Corsari infedeli, et assicurati i navigli che alla giornata vanno abondando non solo questa Città mà tutto lo dominio d'ogni sorte di Vettovaglie, si accrescerebbe alla nostra Repubblica appresso i prencipi vicini e lontani opinione et rispetto" and "gl'Antichi con le forze maritimi propagarono honoratamente il nome Genovese sino all'estreme parti di questo mar' mediterraneo."

112. ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1027, doc. 137 (July 5/August 21, 1584): "senza alcun danno di privati." Curiously, the wording had originally read "senza danno veruno publico o privato," but the author chose to put greater emphasis on the innocuous nature of the tax for private interests.

113. ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1027, doc. 137 (July 5/August 21, 1584): "essendo donque vero che a questa Repubblica non meno son necessarie le forze di mare che sia il cibo al sostentamento della vita."

114. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 63–64; Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at October 9, 1585.

115. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 112, ff. 73, 77v–78.

116. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at September 2 and 19, 1585, and November 20, 1585. On December 9, 1585 the *protettori di San Giorgio* voted to finance the armament of the sixth galley. On June 16, 1586 Pallavicino mentions the sixth galley sailing with the squadron.

117. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at October 28, 1586.

118. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at July 7, 1587: ". . . e così il General Francesco Grimaldo ha finito il suo tempo di duoi anni, con imortal Gloria sua, e con invidia di molti." See also, Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 110–11.

119. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at July 14, 1587.

120. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1650, fasc. 48, "Ordini proposti dal Magistrato delle galere" (July 15, 1587).

121. Income from silk transport was 12,000 scudi in 1584, 20,000 in 1585, 4,000 in

1586, and 17,000 in 1587. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at September 7, 1584, September 3, 1585, August 31, 1586, and August 30, 1587.

122. ASG/AS, *Propositionum*, busta 1027, doc. 181, June 2, 1587.

123. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 119; Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at December 12, 1587, and January 11, 1588. Pallavicino reports the capture of six rather than seven galeots.

124. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 120; Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at December 29, 1587, and January 2, 1588.

125. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at July 29, 1588, and July 19, 1589.

126. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1027, doc. 220 (September 15, 1588).

127. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 46. Doria became "Generale" in 1585.

128. Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at April 19 and 27, 1588.

129. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 193. Roccatagliata mentions Sinam Bassà as commander of the Turkish fleet in 1593. He was still leading the fleet in 1598, as witnessed by the exchange of letters between Bassà and Don Bernardo de Cardinez, Viceroy of Sicily, BNCF II.IV.310, ff. 185r–186v (September 1598).

130. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 111; Crescenzio, *Nautica Mediterranea*.

131. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1027, doc. 239 (December 27, 1588). The average "life expectancy" of a sixteenth-century galley has been estimated at three to seven years. See Calegari, "Legname," 115.

132. Letter of G. A. Doria to Francesco I de' Medici, BNCF Magl. Cl. XXX cod. 23, f. 29r; "signore mio naturale."

133. On Doria's 1583 nomination as Spanish "General of the Sea," Roccatagliata insinuates that this was only possible because Spain had no urgent need of the Mediterranean fleet. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 46: "... si adduceva che il Principe in tempi di maggiori bisogni [of the king], non aveva mai potuto ottenere lo stendardo."

134. "Provenere" is apparently the port of Port-vendre in southern France. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 99–104; Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at January 20, 1587.

135. A treatise illustrating the intricate rules determining who should salute whom at sea can be found in ASF, Carte Strozziane, I serie, 363: "Memoria in generale, intorno a saluti che si praticano per mare . . .," ff. 154–70. The treatise states that ships entering a port were required first of all to fire a salute to the port, a practice that could be forgone should the vessels entering be of the same nationality as the port (arguably the case of the Genoese galleys serving the crown in a Spanish-controlled port). The document, however, which dates from 1668, mentions that the salute had been an innovation of the sixteenth century and that the rules had evolved over time. For the period of the incident in question then, 1587, we can assume that conventions were still fairly fluid.

136. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 110–11.

137. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 113; Pallavicino, *Inventione*, at August 30, 1587.

138. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 114.

139. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 120, 133.

140. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 140–42.

141. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 170–71.

142. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1651, fasc. 1 (January 21, 1594). The *relazione* was written in July 1593, shortly after the last incident with Leonardo Spinola. The official reason for not firing salutes should not be taken too seriously, though, since Francesco Grimaldi was one of the document's authors.

143. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860, f. 249, "Avviso" (June 18, 1594): "[T]he three galleys will not be sent out *in corso*, given that these gentlemen have cooled off after being so warm and fervid last Saturday" (non si tratta più adesso di mandare le tre galere in Corso, essendosi questi ss. ri raffredati che sabato passato ne erano tanto caldi et infervoriti).

144. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 202–3, 210: ". . . che non si poteva vietare alle galere del Re di Spagna, ancorchè fossero sotta la condotta de' Genovesi, che non facessero danno a Francesi. Per appagarli quanto potevano però, con intiera dignità della Repubblica, si offersero di fare il tutto perchè il traffico ed il commercio non rimanesse impedito."

145. The republic's behavior in this episode mirrors that of its private citizens in similar circumstances. When in 1586 the Venetian republic confiscated goods belonging to Filippo Lomellini in retaliation for damage done to a Venetian ship on Tabarka, Lomellini denied responsibility on grounds that Tabarka was not his but was a Spanish possession. At most, he claimed, responsibility lay with the island's governor, who had been removed in the meantime. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al Senato, Spagna, filza 19, doc. 16. In like fashion the republic was always willing to pass responsibility on to its powerful ally.

146. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 134.

147. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 189: ". . . in modo che pareva che le comandasse liberamente"; and 193: "Nella fine di maggio comparve il Principe Doria in Senato, il quale diede notizia che il Re aveva ordinato che accostandosi l'armata Turchesca procurasse di difendere l'isola di Corsica non solo, ma tutto lo stato della Repubblica ancora come se fossero proprii di quella Maestà."

148. The degree of desire to control Finale is evident in Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 233: "The marquis having fallen seriously ill, the emperor thought that his life would end shortly and had taken possession of his territories, and the Duke of Savoy had prepared troops to take over several places under the diocese of the marquis which he [the duke] claimed to be his feuds, and the Duke of Mantova had done the same for other places which he claimed were feuds of Monferrato. For these things the governor had prepared soldiers and artillery and other provisions. But everyone's designs came to nothing for the moment as the marquis regained his health" (essendo caduto ammalato gravamente il Marchese, l'Imperatore stimando che la sua vita fosse per terminare in breve, aveva già fatto prendere il possesso de' due suoi luoghi, ed il Duca di Savoia aveva fatto preparar soldati per impadronirsi di alquanti altri luoghi ch'erano sotto la diocesi di quel marchesato, che pretendeva esser suoi feudi, avendo anche fatto lo stesso il Duca di Mantova, per certi altri che pretendeva fossero feudi del Monferrato per le quali cose quel Governatore aveva fatto que' preparativi di soldati ed artiglieria ed altre provvigioni. Ma i disegni di tutti loro si estinsero per allora, mentre che il Marchese riacquistò la sua salute).

149. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029, various documents regarding general spending for troops, powder, new artillery, and thousands of new arquebuses. See also Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 256–58.

150. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 259.

151. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 273.

152. *Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova*, BNCF II.V.42.

153. *Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova*, BNCF II.V.42, ff. 71v–73v.

154. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 62–63, 65–66.

155. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 71.

156. Doge between 1585 and 1587. See Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 116–18. The sharpest criticism leveled against Di Negro concerned his softness with the Spanish in the questions that saw Genoa opposed to its ally. Such reluctance to strain relations with Spain were most probably to be attributed to the considerable financial investments Di Negro held in that country. See Doria, "Mezzo secolo di attività finanziarie di un doge di Genova," in *Nobiltà e investimenti*.

157. Following the two-year term of office each duce became a permanent member of the Colleges, a *procuratore perpetuo*, after passing a review of his actions while in office. Such a review was known as the *sindicato*, and the reviewers were the magistrates known as the *sindicatori supremi*. See my discussion in chapter 1.

158. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 121: "In questa diversione di pareri si scorgè che buon numero de' principali, massime della famiglia Spinola, opponendosi a tutto poter loro, facevano gagliarda resistenza, onde molti stimarono, che ciò si facesse a bello studio, solamente per sturbare i pensieri del Doria."

159. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 118, 134.

160. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 220–21.

FOUR: Diplomacy and the Rearmament Debate

1. "Three or four rich Genoese arrived taking their seats [*asientos*: seats or contracts], and a devil said, 'They think they will make money with them, but it will be their ruin. They made their calculations wrong and will have nowhere to sit, because they've broken the bank.'

And turning to God a devil said, 'All men, Lord, are accountable for what is theirs, but these count on what is others' and of everyone.' A sentence was pronounced against them. I did not hear it well, but they disappeared." In *Sueños y discursos*, ed. F. C. R. Maldonado (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1972), 83–84.

2. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 342.

3. Grendi, "Problemi e studi," 1053.

4. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 324–25.

5. Figures are available for the years 1611, 1612, 1616–23, 1625, 1626, 1635, and 1639; ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652 (1611), fasc. 14; BCB, m.r. VI.5.20, f. 18r (1612); ASG, Antica Finanza, filza 958, reg. 1 (1616–20); ASG, Antica Finanza, filza 958, reg. 2 (1617–23, 1625, 1626); ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 33 (1635); ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 109 (1639). The figure given for 1626 is the lowest for a year in which the galleys transported silk. During the three years 1618, 1625, and 1635 for various reasons it was impossible for the galleys to load silk. The 1639 peak corresponds to a decree prohibiting other Genoese vessels from loading silk in Messina before the republic's galleys.

6. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al Senato, Spagna, filza 45, doc. 21 (July 13, 1613). For mention of the "Corsaro Inglese," see docs. 34 (August 31, 1613) and 35 (September 7, 1613) in the same *filza*.

7. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al Senato, Spagna, filza 45, doc. 24 (July 27, 1613): "Questi signori hanno quando meno si credesse rissoluto di mandare sei delle loro galere in Sicilia a prendere le sette mossi più tosto da privati interessi, che qui sempre prevagliono."

8. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1032, doc. 176.

9. Calcagno, "La Navigazione convogliata," 362.

10. For one of the many possible examples, see Casoni, *Annali*, 5:33, 81. Casoni mentions two Spanish galleys carrying silver on behalf of Genoese merchants in 1623 and three Genoese *liuti* in 1625 carrying 215,000 pieces of eight each.

11. Peri, *Il negotiante*, 55–56. Parts 1 and 2 of Peri's four-part work were first published in Genoa in 1638 and 1647, respectively.

12. Gold was prized over silver in Antwerp, whereas in Italy the opposite was true. At the same time both Venice and Florence had trade surpluses in Antwerp, where large-scale commercial exchanges were settled in gold currency, and deficits with the Levant, where silver was the preferred currency. The Genoese system was based on their ability to turn the Italians' surplus in gold in Antwerp into silver in Italy, by using the shipments of silver from Spain to pay bills of exchange on Antwerp at the Piacenza fairs, thus gathering the gold into their own hands for their consignments to be made in gold in Antwerp. Profits were to be had not only through the nature itself of the bills of exchange (for an explanation of the mechanisms by which operations of exchange between one *piazza* and another brought about profits for the merchant-banker, see Boyer-Xambeau et al., *Banchieri*, 233–69), but also on the relatively higher price of silver (which they were selling) in Italy and on interests charged on credits granted from one fair to the next. See Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 3:166–69. For concrete examples of such operations, see Doria, *Nobiltà e investimenti*, 200–203.

13. Giorgio Doria has reconstructed the economic-financial career of the Genoese plutocrat Ambrogio Di Negro, doge in 1585–87, in "Mezzo secolo di attività finanziarie di un doge di Genova," in *Nobiltà e investimenti.* Di Negro was very active as an *asentista* to the Spanish crown, but also held considerable investments in *juros* and in the public debts of the Italian states under Spanish dominion. He saw his net worth grow at an annual rate of 11.9 percent during the years 1554–65, at 5 percent between 1566–69, 4.1 percent from 1570–82, 5.6 percent in the years 1583–93, and at an annual rate of 9.7 percent between 1594–1600 (pp. 183–85). Also Grendi, "Gli asientos dei Balbi," 578, on the experience of the Balbi family (new nobles) during the last decade of the sixteenth and the first decades of the seventeenth centuries. During the negotiations leading up to the *medio general* of 1598 the Spanish "contadores" calculated the costs to the crown of an *asiento* at 25 percent, of which the nominal interest accounted for only 12 percent.

14. Doria, "Conoscenza del mercato," 69.

15. Neri, *Uomini d'affari*, 94.

16. Doria, "La gestione del porto," 175–76.

17. "Nelle Repubbliche i Cittadini molto eminenti, nuociono al viver egual e civile . . . Nelle Repubbliche è men male che vi sian molti eminenti che pochi. Imperoché di più che i molti si fanno quasi la guardia l'un l'altro e si contrapesano . . ."; quoted in Doria and Savelli, "'Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 486.

18. "Hoggidi non vi è Cittadino tanto grande, che offuschi del tutto la poca luce della Repubblica"; Spinola, *Osservazioni*, ASCG/BS, 110.D.16, f. 5r.

19. Neri, *Uomini d'affari*, 54–55. Of another fourteen secondary financiers active during the reign of Philip III, we find three more *nuovi:* G. Filippo Saluzzo as well as G. Battista and Filippo Adorno.

20. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 35–36.

21. Doria and Savelli, "'Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 489–90. Comparing the

total wealth of the oligarchs elected to the Seminario (the pool from which senators and procurators were drawn) in the two periods 1591–95 and 1636–40, Doria and Savelli have found that the individual wealth of those in the first group was nearly double the average for the nobility as a whole, whereas in the second period the wealth of those elected to the Seminario tended to be below average, the shift coming about sometime between the first and second quarters of the seventeenth century.

22. The suspension of payments of 1627 blocked 6 million ducats due to Genoese creditors. See Neri, *Uomini d'affari*, 95.

23. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1030, doc. 64bis (November 24, 1607) and 81 (January 28, 1608).

24. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1030, doc. 170 (September 16, 1609), proposal and magistracy's charter.

25. Giustiniani, *Memorie*, BCB, m.r. VI.5.20, f. 4r.

26. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1031, doc. 27 (September 29, 1611).

27. Ruiz Martin, "La banca genovesa."

28. Doria and Savelli, "'Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 493.

29. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 177, 252.

30. See chapter 3. For general rearmament, construction of fortresses, purchases of artillery and arquebuses, and the like, see various documents from 1605–6 in ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029; for the increase in the size of the republic's squadron of galleys, see Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 273; the proposal discussed by the Senate for the construction of twelve galleons is in ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 22.

31. *Memoriale del signore Francesco Saluzzo*, BNCF, ms. II.III. 476, ff. 96v–97v. For the Maltese claims in 1582, see Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 20.

32. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al Senato, Spagna, filza 42, doc. 13 (May 1, 1610), letter from the Venetian ambassador Piero Priuli, present in Genoa during April and May 1610. Priuli recounts the overtures of friendship made to Venice and the exhortations for closer relations between the two republics. One senator, Giulio della Rovere, even insisted to Priuli that Genoa was "not as subject to the wishes of the Spaniards as it appears" (non essere tanto soggette al volere de' Spagnoli, quanto pareva fosse tenuto). Priuli continues that "These gentlemen have received much dissatisfaction as a state and as individuals during the residence of the [Spanish] ambassador Vives and, by giving negative answers to many of the requests made in the king's name, have tried to free themselves of their slavery so that the world should know that the Spaniards do not hold the same authority over Genoa as they have had in the past. They put more effort in restoring their freedom, which they maintain the Spanish have usurped, than in anything else" (Hanno ricevuto questi Signori, et nel pubblico, et nel particolare mala sodisfattione mentre l'Ambasciator Vives si è ritrovato qui alla sua residentia, et hanno procurato con darli molte negative in quello gli ha ricercato per parte del suo Rè, liberarsi da questa servitù, acciò il mondo conosca, che Spagnoli non siano in quel grado di auttorità, che altre volte hanno tenuto sopra di loro; né hora in alcuna cosa maggiormente invigilano, che nella recuperatione di quella libertà, che proffessano Spagnoli haverli usurpato) and that "the youth in particular nurture thoughts only with this end in mind" (tra la gioventù in particolare sono notriti pensieri driviati solo a questo fine).

33. Giustiniani, *Memorie*, BCB, m.r. VI.5.20, f. 5r.

34. Federico Federici, *Discorso contro i cavalieri di Malta* (1635), ASG, ms. 51, f. 56r–v.

35. *Risposta della Santa Religione Gierosolomitana alla vana pretensione de Genovesi*,

BNCF, ms. II.III.476, ff. 98r–108r. This codex in the BNCF also contains a copy of the proposal made by the Genoese Senate to the councils; the BNCF manuscript, however, presents some slight modifications compared with the copies in ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1031, doc. 28; Politicorum, 1652, fasc. 13 (October 3, 1611) and ASG, ms. 51, f. 56r–v, which I quote here.

36. "... una congregatione di private persone Religiose di molte Nationi habitanti sopra uno scoglio di una picola Isola, che anco resta sotto l'altrui Imperio."

37. Giustiniani, *Memorie*, BCB, m.r. VI.5.20, f. 2v.

38. Giustiniani, *Memorie*, BCB, m.r. VI.5.20, f. 18r.

39. Chabod, *Scritti sul Rinascimento*, 484–85.

40. Chabod, *Scritti sul Rinascimento*, 494.

41. Appointed to justify the Republic of Venice's claims Fra Paolo Sarpi writes "I have read ... all the jurists who deal with this matter whose works I have been able to find. Only one, a modern Spaniard, is in opposition and denies that the seas can be dominated and in particular is opposed to the dominion of the sea held by Venice and Genoa.... Of contrary opinion I have found 23 writers from various centuries, beginning in 1320 up to the present" (Ho letto ... tutti li giurisconsulti che trattano questa materia, le opere de' quali abbiamo potuto trovare. Un solo moderno spagnolo si oppone e nega che il mare possi esser dominato, et in particolare oppugna il dominio del mare di Venezia e di Genoa.... In contrario ne abbiamo 23 scrittori di diversi secoli, incominciando dal 1320 sino al presente ...); "Scrittura seconda che tratta del titolo del legittimo dominio sopra il Mar Adriatico. 1612, 12 april," in Paolo Sarpi, *Dai "consulti,"* 169–70. Later in the debate over the freedom of the seas, John Selden was to take Venice and Genoa as examples forming a precedent for English claims of sovereignty over the seas; Selden, *Of the Dominion*, 1:104–5.

42. Casoni, *Annali*, 4:274–75.

43. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:204.

44. ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1036, doc. 211 (September 5, 1634), Luca Giustiniani's report to the Senate.

45. ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1036, doc. 211 (September 5, 1634): "Stimai che mi convenisse d'andar à prender il posto a canto della Reale per più raggioni."

46. ASG/AS, Propositionum, 1036, doc. 211 (September 5, 1634): "... diedi di remi nell'acqua, e mi partij, ne stimai che fusse conveniente farlo prima, per non parere di ceder io volontariamente ne per timore quel luogo, che al stendardo della Repubblica solo era dovuto."

47. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1030, doc. 69 (December 3, 1607), requesting permission to borrow up to 5,000 scudi *sopra cambi*, that is, taking bills of exchange to be floated from one fair to the next, in order to meet the increased expenditures; ASG/AS, *Propositionum*, busta 1030, doc. 100 (April 23, 1608). The proposal to assign income from the columns of Saint George was initially blocked by the bank, and we find the proposal renewed on May 21, 1609. Apparently the proposal passed this second time as the entry appears in the magistracy's subsequent balances. See ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1030, doc. 148.

48. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 6, docs. ranging from 1608 to 1610. A *relazione* of 1608 estimates the costs of maintaining a single galley at 30,000 lire per year and claims that the entire squadron could be financed through freight charges. Another document points out that the subject communities had never completely fulfilled the or-

dinance of February 26, 1586, to finance a single galley. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 14 (October 5, 1611), proposal by Agostino Pinello estimating costs at 40,000 lire per galley per annum.

49. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1653, fasc. 17 (June 21, 1624), "Relazione dell'Illustrissimi Procuratori."

50. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1653, fasc. 17 (June 21, 1624), "Relazione dell'Illustrissimi Procuratori"; ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, docs. 55, 56 (July 4, 1624).

51. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 86 (January 13, 1625).

52. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 65 (August 21, 1624).

53. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 78 (November 9, 1624).

54. Spinola, *Scritti Scelti*, 87–88: "Ha fatto con le mani e con piedi perché . . . si disarmino . . . le due galee aggionte, non volendo in modo alcuno che abbiamo forza"; "Tiene qui un stuolo di 16 o 18 galee, per mezzo delle quali tiene interessato buon numero de' nobili"; "Dà facilità grande alle compre de' feudi, che fanno i nostri cittadini invaniti d'apparenze e de' titoli."

55. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 22 (March 22, 1613): ". . . il guadagno di esse mercantie per una parte, li noli per l'altra, qualche cambi, che necessariamente apportava l'istessa mercantia veniva a rilevar tanto che se ne cavavano nel pubblico, e nelli particolari li benefitij detti sopra. Di poi sendosi cominciato a negotiar con Prencipi, et in particolar con la Maestà Cattolica, et a comprar rendita in paesi forastieri, et introdotto il cambio più all'ingrosso, e con maggior beneficio, e minor fatica a poco a poco li cittadini più ricchi lasciando il negocio della mercantia e delle navi da carico, e seguitando poi li altri ha dato occasione ad altre nationi di mettersi in questi negocij come si vede in particolare delle fiamenghi, li quali non solo con il dissegno delle mercantie, ma con tanta quantità di vascelli che hanno, e mandano atorno per li noli, hanno quasi ridotto tutto il negocio, e mercantia in man loro."

56. Edoardo Grendi provides an example of the "invasion" of northern shipping in the infra-Mediterranean trade; of ten ships hired by Giacomo Lomellini to be sent to Tabarka in 1612, seven were northern ships and at least two of the remaining three were French. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 342–43.

57. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 22: "persone più deboli, et alcune debolissime, che non havendo facoltà propria, erano astretti a patire gagliardissimi interessi."

58. The author does not seem to be exaggerating; Giorgio Doria and Rodolfo Savelli point out that in the final quarter of the sixteenth century there was only a single shipowner among the candidates for nobilitation, and not even one in the first half of the seventeenth century. Doria and Savelli, "'Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 509.

59. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 22; the senators Paolo Sauli and Francesco de Marini, procurators Gerolamo Assereto and Opicio Spinola, protectors of *Saint George* Michele Giustiniani and Battista Centurione, as well as the nobles Giorgio Centurione, Gio. Battista Doria, Bernardo Lamerizia, and Cesare Spinola.

60. Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado*, legajo 1436, f. 12, quoted in Neri, *Uomini d'affari*, 31.

61. ". . . al presente la nostra Republica con la sua libertà stà fondata sù la sua fortuna, e Prottettione di Spagna, e nelle armi di questa monarchia Noi dobbiamo sperare di farsi

forti e questi vascelli oltre la spesa insoportabile da noi, dimostrarebbero totale imprudenza, anzi sarebbero per mettere gelosia à i Spagnuoli che però si propose, niente si deliberò"; Giustiniani, *Memorie*, f. 30v.

62. ". . . tre sole galee, ma ben fornite ed armate, e due galeonotti, da porre in servizio tra ottobre e marzo, sarebbero stati sufficienti . . . a tener sgombri da corsari per tutto l'anno i mari della Repubblica." Quoted in Costantini, "Aspetti della politica navale," 211.

63. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, BCB, F. Ant., m.r. IV.3.13, f. 4r: ". . . ogni Ragione vuole, che la Nostra Repubblica dovesse sempre ricevere da quella Monarchia ogni buon trattamento, e vantaggio; se ciò sia seguito, o veramente il contrario, lo sanno quei Cittadini, che hanno governato la Repubblica, particolarmente dell'anno 1625 à questa parte."

64. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, docs. 78, 86. See also Casoni, *Annali*, 5:52–53, and Capriata, *Dell'Historia*, 1:466.

65. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:81.

66. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:81; twenty-five of the galleys belonged to Spanish squadrons, five to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and three to the pope.

67. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 147 (April 8, 1625).

68. Capriata, *Dell'Historia*, 1:491.

69. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:82.

70. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:86–87.

71. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:101–2. See also the balance sheets of the *supremi sindicatori* in ASG, Antica Finanza, filza 958, reg. 2; the balance sheet for 1625 includes the entry "artillery, arms etc. taken from the enemy—116,913 lire and 12 soldi."

72. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:101–2.

73. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:109–10.

74. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:109–110: "Questa considerazione apportò grandissima utilità alla Corona di Spagna, per cui la Repubblica spese in quest'Anno 800m Scudi senza indi ottenerne l'assegnazioni, avverandosi in tal guisa ciò, che d'ordinario suole intervenire, che la compagnia de' Grandi nuoce agl'Inferiori." See also ASG/AS, Lettere Ministri di Spagna, filza 2434, letters of September 13 and November 3, 1629; the Genoese ambassador G. B. Saluzzo laments the impossibility of being reimbursed for the money spent maintaining troops for the Spanish.

75. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:122–24.

76. Lapeyre, "La participation des genois," 154–55. Even under Philip II the *juros* often carried a face value greatly superior to the actual corresponding revenue.

77. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:122–24.

78. ASG/AS, Lettere ai Ministri di Spagna, busta 2431, letter of March 19, 1627. Quoted in Neri, *Uomini di affari*, 114–15.

79. Neri, *Uomini di affari*, 114–15.

80. Muto, "Decretos e medios generales," 324.

81. Castillo Pintado, "Mecanismos de base," 233.

82. ASG/AS, Grida e Proclami, busta 1017, fasc. 19, "Grida delle Monete" (November 20, 1608).

83. Giacchero, *Il Seicento*, 366.

84. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:124: "onde il commercio quasi tutto cessò con manifesta rovina

del Pubblico, e dei Privati, la quale fu sì universale, ed estrema, che non ne andò esente famiglia."

85. Castillo Pintado, "Mecanismos de base," 233.

86. For particulars regarding the conspiracy, see the contemporary account Della Torre, "Congiura," 545–640; Della Torre, a jurist and prominent politician, had represented the republic in the trial against Vachero.

87. One percent on estates valued at more than 12,000 lire, in 1625, 1626, and 1628. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 78 (November 9, 1624); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, docs. 211 (August 4, 1626), 212 (August 27, 1626) (the first proposal failed to pass the councils but was approved three weeks later with the provision that the tax could be paid with bills of exchange); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 1 (January 12, 1628); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1036, doc. 9 (January 21/23, 1631); ASG/AS Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 164 (December 7, 1629) and busta 1036, doc. 4 (January 23, 1631), containing a breakdown of estimates per year and per social group (nobles, nonnobles) and reports as to sums collected to date. It is interesting to note that the estimate made for the January 1628 tax (less than a year after the 1627 suspension of payments) is already nearly 10 percent less than that of August 1626 (2,350,000 lire and 2,545,000 lire respectively).

88. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 128 (July 9/25, 1625). Oil consumed in the city was to be taxed at sixteen soldi per barrel while the tax on meat consumption was increased by two-thirds. The *gabella* on salt consumption was increased by one lira four soldi per mina (approximately ninety kilograms); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 86 (January 13, 1625).

89. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 128 (July 9/25, 1625). Raised from two to eight soldi for every mina of flour ground at the republic's mills, this tax was raised again to ten soldi per mina only five months later; ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 149 (December 6, 1625).

90. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 127 (July 15, 1625).

91. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 133 (August 30, 1625).

92. ASG, Antica Finanza, filza 958, reg. 2; ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 1; ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 143. For the exchange of four lire per scudo in 1629 ASG, Antica Finanza, filza 958, reg. 3, "Breve relatione di quanto la Repubblica di Genova ha pagato dall'anno 1625 in 1628 a uso della soldatesca della Maestà del Re di Spagna concessa in diffesa di detta Repubblica," in contrast to four lire ten soldi given in ASG/AS, Grida e Proclami, busta 1017, doc. 19, "Grida delle monete" (1608).

93. Carlo Emmanuele had sponsored a propaganda campaign in Genoa aimed at reopening the division between *vecchi* and *nuovi*, but to no avail. See, for example, Ansaldo, *Verità esaminata*.

94. Doria and Savelli, "'Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 480.

95. *Congiura di Genova fatta nel 1628 dal Vacchero, et altri populari*, BNCF II.IV.286, f. 482r.

96. *Anonima Scrittura contro La Nobiltà e Governo di Genova dopo scoperta la Congiura del Vacchero*, BNCF Magl. V. Cl., XXV cod. 185, f. 28.

97. Doria and Savelli, "'Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 484–85.

98. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 4v.

99. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:185. A French envoy sent to Genoa in March 1629 to negotiate the passage of a shipment of grain through the republic's territory to the French army at

Casale, where they were being besieged by the Spanish, produced a set of letters that purportedly illustrated a secret agreement between Spain and Savoy to turn on the republic after having taken Casale.

100. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:187.

101. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:212–13, 218.

102. Haitsma Mulier, "Genova e l'Olanda nel Seicento," 436.

103. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:225.

104. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:227–28.

105. Neri, *Uomini di affari*, 97.

106. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 9, proposals dated April 30, 1636.

107. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 35, "relazione" (November 12, 1637).

108. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 12, "Istruzione al Magnifico Luca Giustiniano" (September 20, 1636).

109. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 12, "Relazione di quanto si passò . . ." (September 23, 1636).

110. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 13, "Istruzione data dal Doge e Governatori della Repubblica . . . per la difesa del Porto nelle attuali occorenze" (September 23, 1636).

111. ASG/AS, Grida e Proclami, busta 1021, fasc. 9, "Grida" (June 10, 1637).

112. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1037, docs. 211, 212 among others of the same busta.

113. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1037, doc. 235 (June 11, 1638): "se nel Golfo di Venetia, Francia o Inghilterra, arrivano le Galee di S. M. e trovano gl'inimici loro, questo è caso molto differente da quello di cui si tratta; cioè che mentre le Galere hanno l'ospicio ne i nostri Porti . . . attendere quei Vascelli che portano le Vettovaglie ò altre merci alla Città per depredarle in danno, e pregiudicio di chi gli ha cortesemente ricevuti."

114. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:235–36.

115. Della Torre, *Esame delle preminenze reali della Repubblica di Genova nella corte di Roma*, BNCF, fondo G. Capponi, cod. CXXIX, ff. 57–78: "La sovranità ne' Prencipi è quel carattere che rendendoli nell'uffizio similissimi a Dio, dal quale solo e immediatamente riconoscono l'autorità, gli sollieva in dignità sovra tutti quelli che non l'hanno."

116. For an analysis of corsair activity in the waters of the republic in the years 1634–98, see Costantini, "Aspetti della politica navale," 212–18.

117. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 16 (n.d.): "Sono tante, e tanto note le ragioni, le quali persuadono l'utilità di fare armamenti di nave et altri vascelli tondi per introdurre di nuovo la marinaresca, et agevolare la mercatura con benefitij inumurabili che tralasciato il racontarle pare che possa esser solamente a proposito il proponere semplicemente i modi con li quali si possa con maggior facilita praticare cosa di tanto profitto."

118. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 346.

119. Doria and Savelli, "Cittadini di governo' a Genova," 498: "Everything seems to indicate then that by 1620–25 Genoese foreign investments were already placed in clear prevalence and with growing intensity outside the Iberian peninsula."

120. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 16, "Nota sopra quello che mi occorre circa la fabrica de' Galeoni" (July 12, 1632).

121. Given the fact that a very large proportion of Saint George's revenue was derived from taxes on port traffic in one form or another, the Casa could not have favored granting privileges that could damage other shippers and merchants frequenting the Lig-

urian port. The author of the proposal, on the other hand, while withdrawing the previous request, suggests that precedence be given anyway out of a sort of tacit agreement: "The privilege of having to be the first ships to load in port does not seem necessary because the republic cannot grant it in the ports outside of its dominion, and in those of the dominion it is enough to do it in fact without putting it down as law" (Il privilegio di dover in li porti esser queste navi le prime à carricare non mi pare, che sij necessario, perche in li porti fuori del dominio la Republica non lo può dare; e in quelli del dominio basta farlo con effetto al suo tempo, senza metterlo per legge).

122. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 16. "bisognerà pigliar di ogni sorte di persone, tanto Genovesi, come forestieri."

123. The difficulties were practically unchanged with respect to the situation of the first two decades of the century as described in the first section of this chapter. A large proportion of Genoese trade was with Spain, and it was poorly balanced. Genoese exports far outweighed imports from Spain making it difficult for shippers to find return cargoes. The consistent trade carried on with the Low Countries presented a similar problem; the principal Genoese export to the Low Countries was silk cloth, which tended to be sent overland and therefore could not constitute a valid outgoing cargo for ships that could easily find grain cargoes in the North to bring back to Genoa.

124. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 148 (October 4, 1629).

125. A number of requests from the Magistrato dell'arsenale for permission to sell galleys can be found among the documents of the Propositionum series. The standard price given is 15,000 lire. The figure, however, is a convenient approximation; in the more detailed balance sheets of the *supremi sindicatori* we find prices ranging from 14,200 and 14,500 lire in 1617 to 18,400 in 1618 and 20,687 lire in that same year for a *capitana*. Only seven years later a "scaffo di galera," which must have been a *capitana*, is sold for 29,694 lire and 16 soldi. In 1638 we find two galleys sold to Spain for 41,205 lire. See ASG, Antica Finanza, filza 958, reg. 1 (1616–20), reg. 2 (1621–26) and reg. 4 (1638).

126. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1036, doc. 4, "Calcolo della spesa per sei mesi dal primo di Gennaro al primo di luglio 1631" (January 23, 1631).

127. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1036, doc. 9 (January 21/23, 1631).

128. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1036, doc. 12 (April 9, 1631).

129. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 148 (October 4, 1629); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1036, doc. 25 (July 14, 1631).

130. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:238–39; Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 14; Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 308–9. The company in 1638 was composed of Francesco Maria and Galeazzo Giustiniani, Lazaro Cebà, Agostino Pinello, Lazaro Spinola (son of Gio Domenico), Gio Tomaso Della Torre (son of the jurist Raffaele), Gio Steffano Centurione, Agostino Centurione (doge in 1650, Centurione continued to support programs for relaunching Genoa as a maritime power), and Ottavio Grimaldi.

131. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1036, doc. 173, "relazione" (December 19, 1633).

132. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 65, "Progetto d'instituire un ordine de' Cavaglieri sotto il titolo di S. Giorgio. E per la negoziazione in Levante."

133. Repeated Tuscan attempts to establish formal trading relations with the Ottoman Empire had been thwarted by the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano's continued attacks on Turkish shipping. The Ottomans rejected the dukes of Tuscany's claims that the

knightly order was extraneous to the state on the grounds that the duke was the titular head of both. Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana*, 258–59.

134. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 65bis, "Modo che la Repubblica Serenissima possa havere buon numero di galere e navi con non spendere più di quello che spende al presente."

135. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 69, "Capitoli e privileggi Concessi dal Senato per l'armamento di Galere e altri navigli" (December 29, 1638). Pietro Maria Gentili, Gio Agostino Lomellini, Gio Carlo Brignole, and Lazaro (son of Paolo Agostino) Spinola, and nearly seventy others had now joined the company's ranks. Gio Bernardo Veneroso, one of the most visible supporters of the "return to the sea" during the next two decades, also joined the company before the summer voyage of 1639.

136. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 69, "Capitoli e privileggi Concessi dal Senato per l'armamento di Galere e altri navigli" (December 29, 1638), item no. 41.

137. "attendere alla navigazione anche con atti di nobilità contro i nemici del nome Cristiano."

138. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 69, "Capitoli e privileggi Concessi dal Senato per l'armamento di Galere e altri navigli" (December 29, 1638), item no. 44.

139. The devolution of 10 percent of all prizes, though not of all profits through trade, to the Senate was common for privateers operating under letters of patent from the republic. See, for example, the privileges granted to the privateer Pier Antonio Saetone; ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 46, "Lettere patenti del Doge e Governatori della Repubblica al Capitano Pier Antonio Saetone di armare due Brigantini per andare in Corso contro il nemico" (March 1638).

140. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 69, "Capitoli e privileggi Concessi dal Senato per l'armamento di Galere e altri navigli" (December 29, 1638), items 1 and 40; "Privileggi da domandare al Senato Serenissimo" item no. 3.

141. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a (Avvisi di Genova dal 1575 al 1663), letter of May 27, 1639: "Con l'augurio di un felici incaminamento a buoni progressi la compagnia della nuova Maona sotto titolo di Nostra Signora de la Libertà fece varare la sua Capitana Galera Domenica passata alla cui cerimonia non solo furono assistenti gran comitiva di Dame e Cavaglieri, ma fu solenizzata quest'attione ancora con musiche bellissime e con applauso generale di gente che vi conversero da ogni parte."

142. Casoni, *Annali*, 5: 241–45.

143. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 4v.

144. While Casoni claims that the decision to cruise the eastern Mediterranean was an expedient to compensate for the impossibility of loading silk in Messina, a letter of May 1639 (while the second galley was still under construction) states that, according to popular rumor at least, the galleys were to be sent out on a privateering voyage against the Turks. The letter makes no mention of transporting silk. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. VI, letter of May 27, 1639: "In a few days the other galley, the *Patrona*, should be in the water and by the end of next month it is hoped that they will both be armed and rigged and provided with all the necessary items for their first voyage. It is said [that they are to sail] toward the Levant in order to lower the pride of the corsairs and the enemies of the Christian faith" (Fra pochi giorni si deverà ancora ponere in acqua l'altra Galera Patrona, e per la fine del venturo mese si spera che saranno ambedue del tutto armate e proviste di bastimenti, et altre cose necessarie per poter fare poi il primo

viaggio, dicesi destinato verso Levante, a fine di abbassare l'orgoglio ai corsari, et ai nemici dela Christiana fede).

145. The only member of the company with any maritime experience of note, Giustiniani had been in Doria's service as early as 1614 and, while at the command of the republic's galleys, had been responsible for capturing the Savoy *capitana* in 1625. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2861, "Avvisi al Guicciardino di Genova (1613–1621)," letter of April 4, 1614; Casoni, *Annali*, 5:82.

146. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. X, "avviso" (January 31, 1643). In early 1643 we even find the Duke of Tursi carrying silk from Palermo and Messina to Livorno.

FIVE: The Lure of the World's Seas, 1640–1680

1. "Our reputation for not being united, which has spread throughout the world, is false as far as our will is concerned, because we all have our sights set in the same direction. . . . But regarding our intellect it is quite true, because our nation is full of great imaginations that usually give birth to beautiful speeches and a great quantity and variety of opinions."

2. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:257.

3. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 81 (August 3, 1639).

4. Casoni, *Annali*, 5:248–49.

5. Not to be confused with the Magistrato del nuovo armamento established in 1651, responsible for managing the state fleet of galleons.

6. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 110 (April 3, 1641); two months after the deliberation to build the new galleys it was still not clear just exactly how many to build. The Senate had also ordered a new *capitana* shortly before, and it was not clear whether it was to be considered part of the new squadron. In the end all seven galleys were built and launched. A year later, on February 17, 1642, a resolution was passed to build twenty new galleys for the new armament. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 22, "Considerationi e proposte per l'armamento delle galee" (circa 1652).

7. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 123 (July 31, 1641); the *provvisori delle galere* informed the Senate that they had run out of credit with San Giorgio and asked for a further 41,000 lire in order to complete the galleys then under construction. For the tax, see Casoni, *Annali*, 5:257.

8. Mention is made of the following vessels: two galleys delivered to the Spanish in 1638; one to Prince Doria in 1639 and another in either 1640 or early 1641; in 1641 two galleys delivered for the Naples squadron and two more under construction; and one galley delivered to the papal squadron in 1643. In 1644 the Magistracy of the Arsenal was even lamenting the lack of available space for building the galleys on order. ASG, Antica Finanza, filza 958, reg. 4; ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1654, fasc. 109, and busta 1655, fasc. 33, 34; ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. viii.

9. ASG/AS, Grida e Proclami, busta 1021, fasc. 57, "Grida" (March 28, 1642): "[N]o carpenter, worker, or laborer can work on the construction of any vessel in the city or dominions of the republic without licence from the Colleges, but must come to work on the construction of the galleys of the new armament" (niuno maestro d'ascia, lavoratore, operario, senza licenza de' Serenissimi Collegi possa lavorare nella fabrica di qualonque

vascello maritimo nella Città e nel Dominio della Serenissima Republica ma debba venire a lavorare nella fabrica delle galere del nuovo armamento).

10. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. ix (April 5 and 26, 1642; May 3, 1642). The two galleys returned to Genoa on June 21, 1642, after having transported 250 bails of silk destined for Livorno and Genoa.

11. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. ix (March 22, 1642; July 19, 1642).

12. ASG, Senato, Sala Senarega, filza 85, "Partita di S. Giorgio per il Nuovo Armamento"; Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, BCB, F. Ant., m.r. IV.3.13, f. 22v. A rising star on the Genoese political scene, Brignole Sale was the son of the former doge Gio Francesco Brignole. In addition to the donations made by private citizens, the city of Savona donated two galleys, one of which was fitted out in three days at the expense of the governor of Savona, Gio Bernardo Veneroso. Veneroso, former member of and galley captain for the Compagnia di Nostra Signora di Libertà, is one of the most conspicuous supporters of nearly all the projects aimed at increasing the Genoese presence at sea.

13. On the fluidity of the divisions within the Genoese ruling class during the period from 1637 to 1656, see Bitossi, "'Mobbe' e congiure," 597–98. Bitossi individuates three main currents: the intellectuals of the *nuovi*, Anton Giulio Brignole Sale and Gio Bernardo Veneroso; the followers of Andrea Spinola among the *vecchi*, Agostino Pallavicino and Alessandro Spinola; and the "technicians," the jurists Federico Federici and Raffaele Della Torre.

14. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. ix, letters of July 19 and August 16, 1642; Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, ff. 23–24; Casoni, *Annali*, 5:257–58.

15. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. ix, letter of August 16, 1642.

16. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 24r; Casoni, *Annali*, 5:257–58.

17. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 4–5 (can be consulted in the BCB, m.r. Rari A. 37[1]): "Già gran pezza io mi struggea di cruccio, rivolgendo in mente le conditioni del stato nostro, atte non sò, se ad eccitar più la nostr'ira, o l'altrui disprezzo. Ne era questo, il riandar, che fossero ridotte al numero di sei Galee quelle numerose nostre armate de gli antichi secoli. . . ."

18. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 3–4: "Dunque mi congratulo con esso voi, che al Real Diadema, onde vi siete incoronati, habbiate aggionta un'opra, che corona regiamente anch'ella tutte le altre vostre attioni col raccoglere da tutte il fiore, mentre fa spiccar in un'istesso tempo la concordia de' consigli, la magnanimità delle risolutioni, il vigore delle forze, il liberale amor de'Popoli, la sicurezza dello Stato, la riputation del nome, il rinovellamento delle glorie, e tutti gli altri titoli, che reggon la felicità de' Regni, e delle Republiche."

19. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 5: "Mi doleva, non che dominassimo non altro più, che la Liguria, ma che riposatamente la Liguria stessa non dominassimo; non che più non ci portassero prigioni le maritime nostre Vittorie nemici Regi, ma che i Prencipi soverchia libertade si prendessero con esso noi, non che più non ci facessimo temer ne' loro mari da Corsari Turchi, ma che noi provassimo ne' nostri i danni de' Corsari Cristiani . . ."

20. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 6. For the author, but for the other supporters of an armed neutrality as well, the republic's claims to independence and sovereignty over the Ligurian Sea had to be backed up by credible force: "[I]s it enough to have privileges under lock and key in the archives where not even a ray of light can disturb their sleep?" and, "Having justice on one's side is a good reason for defending oneself, but it is not a

defense in itself" (. . . basta forse haver i privilegi custoditi sotto ferro degli Archivij, senza ch'entrar possa un raggio minimo à turbar lor sonno?; Al che haver dal proprio canto la giustitia basta ben per degno stimolo à difendersi, non per difesa).

21. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 8–15.

22. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 15–16: ". . . se sperar si possa il rinovar per questo mezzo le navigationi antiche del Levante, spetial Teatro degli acquisti, e delle glorie de' Genovesi. . . . percioche si sono aperte nuove strade alle maritime navigationi; ma le antiche non si sono perciò serrate, e mentre Regni pretiosissimi dell'Oriente non son tanto sterili, ne tanto poveri, che caricar non possano di lor dovitie, e chi travaglia per l'Oceano, e chi per lo Mediterraneo."

23. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 16: ". . . quanto son più numerose, e più distinte le Provincie, dove approdan molti, tanto ognun più agevolmente trova suo impiego."

24. Brignole Sale, *Congratulatione*, 16–17: ". . . hora, che quei nuovi modi di richezze, che sviaronci dalle arti nostre prime, son venuti meno, . . . non vogliamo noi per dapocaggine dissomigliarci da quegli antenati, a' quali siamo per natura, complessione, ingegno, e cuore somigliantissimi."

25. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, ff. 22–24.

26. Grendi, *Il Cervo e la repubblica*, 91–92, 174–93. From Grendi's analysis it is clear that the double role of Ligurian men, sailor and farmer, characteristic of the medieval period was, if anything, reinforced during the early modern period. What had changed, however, was the global complexity of the communities of the *riviere* which were firmly integrated into a regional economy. In the case examined by Grendi, a community of coral fishers, the maritime trade was highly specialized and could only be abandoned by the sailors and fishermen for service on the galleys at the expense of the equilibrium of the entire community. It has also been suggested that part of the Mediterranean-wide problem of finding an adequate number of oarsmen for galleys lay in the fact that standards of living were generally higher in the seventeenth century than they had been in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and therefore men were less hard pressed to accept the dismal job of rowing galleys. See Lutrell, "Late-Medieval Galley Oarsmen."

27. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 17, "Istituzione di milizia marina pel nuovo armamento" (November 6, 1642): "Per ottenere che le 20 galere del nuovo armamento siano al bisogno non solo pronte ad armarsi, ma armate di servizio . . . bisogna non solo trovar la gente ma procurare, che la s'applichi volontieri a questo mestiero."

28. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 17.

29. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 22. A further measure adopted to remove the stigma attached to rowing the galleys was that of forbidding the use of the word "oarsman" (*remiere*) in reference to the free oarsmen, who were to be called *sequelle*.

30. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 19, "Capitoli pel nuovo armamento delle triremi" (November 6, 1642, not the erroneous date, January 12, 1643, indicated on the cover sheet).

31. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 34, "Providenza riguardante il Magistrato dell'Arsenale" (September 16, 1644). More than anything the magistrates of the arsenal lament their lack of working space (the ambitious plans for enlarging the arsenal approved at the turn of the century had never been completed), competition from the new papal arsenal at Civitavecchia (where a number of Genoese craftsmen had gone to

work), and the competition of private shipbuilders operating on the beaches of Sampierdarena, who were often allowed to use some of the magistracy's equipment free of charge.

32. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 36, "Propositio ad favorem novi armamenti" (December 7, 1645).

33. ASG, Senato, Sala Senarega, filza 92, "Circa l'armamento proposto di qualche Galee per andar in Levante" (June 19, 1646): "Credo hormai stabilito concetto nella mente d'ogni buon cittadino constare nelle forze maritime il totale mantenimento della publica libertà"; "la Gloria della Repubblica, la prova della bontà delle Galee di Signorie Vostre Serenissime; et in particolare l'armamento di gente libera."

34. See the subsequent discussion in this chapter.

35. ASG/AS, Grida e Proclami, busta 1021, fasc. 85, "Grida" (March 5, 1646). In spite of the fact that the republic's officials had drawn up rolls for the enlistment of able-bodied men for service on the galleys, apparently the central government did not have the necessary authority over the subject communities to resort to conscription. The method of offering very high wages and considerable benefits to anyone willing to row was still seen as the most reliable means of recruitment. For a study forcing some reconsideration of the relationship between *dominante* and *dominio*, see Raggio, *Faide e parentele*.

36. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 22.

37. ASG, Senato, Sala Senarega, Collegii Diversorum, filza 92, "Pro Capitaneis Triremibus" (June 25, 1646): "The captains of the free galleys, though they realize that they have received a singular favor in being elected and honored by such a charge, do not see any merit whatsoever in themselves" (Li Capitani delle Galere di Libertà per quanto concoscono haver ricevuto à singular favore l'esser stati elletti, et honorati di tale carrica, non scorgono però in loro merito alcuno).

38. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:4–5.

39. ASG, *Membranacei di San Giorgio*, 115, ff. 104v–106r, "Pro novo armamento" (10 July 1652).

40. Costantini, "Aspetti della politica navale," 212–18.

41. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 58, "Relazione . . . per l'uscita di nove galere" (November 2, 1646), and fasc. 36, "Conto attivo e passivo della Camera . . .," (September 28, 1644). See appendix A.

42. Lane, *Venice*, 48; Lutrell, "Late-Medieval Galley Oarsmen," 94; Greco, "Galeotti, ufficiali e mercanti," 181. Generalizing from Venetian material, Lane estimates crew sizes for medieval galleys (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) between a minimum of 60 men when "unarmed" and 140 to 180 men when carrying a full complement of soldiers. Lutrell mentions a Genoese decree of 1261 requiring galleys to carry 108 oarsmen. Again using Venetian material, Greco gives the figure of 160 oarsmen on the very largest galleys of the fifteenth century, the *galere grosse* sent on the *muda* to Flanders. The galley as a ship type continued to grow over the course of the seventeenth century as well. In 1652 it took the same number of men to equip the republic's six galleys as it had taken to arm ten galleys in 1624–25. The galleys of the latter half of the seventeenth century carried between 240 and 330 oarsmen alone. See ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1666, "relatione" (March 18, 1652); ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 41, "Li Prestantissimi Provveditori delle Galee considerino . . ." (October 16, 1651).

43. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 22.

44. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 28 (February 15, 1644) (published May 20, 1644).

45. Peri, *Il negotiante*, II, 100: "Con ordine così prudente, et accertato è data la mano alla fabrica di molti Vasselli, et alla sicurezza de Negotii."

46. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 28. The report from the Conservatori del Mare to the Senate suggesting the law explains the mechanism of the most widespread form of fraud. The *patrone* of a vessel would take out a loan for the ship's construction and occasionally for the merchandise to be carried on the ship's first voyage, greatly overestimating the price of both, all of which was to be reimbursed on the ship's first return to port. The ship would then be deliberately scuttled on its return voyage, netting the fraudulent shipper the surplus value of the ship and the declared value of an imaginary return cargo lost in the "wreck."

47. Peri, *Il negotiante*, II, 94–95.

48. See my discussion in the next section.

49. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, ff. 103v–105r.

50. Peri, *Il negotiante*, II, 99–100. On the possibilities of state armament: "Chi sà che questi Signori Serenissimi . . . non si degnino d'applicar l'animo con interesse del Publico all'armamento di copia di Navi, che in un medesimo tempo servino all'accrescimento dell'Erario publico, e delle private sostanze, trasportando le mercantie, e vettovaglie, massime dalla scala del Levante"; and the formation of companies: "per coloro, che non potranno esser partecipi nella proprietà d'essi [ships] doveranno esser formate Compagnie quali piglino Danari, o a cambio, o a ritorno di viaggio, o in società sotto le forme ch'aggiusteranno, e che altrove si costumano"; and finally, "una numerosa copia di Navi sarà ancora di giovamento alla Cristianità, perche saranno assicurate le marine dall'infestationi di qualunque Vasselli nemici." Peri himself was very close to the navalists. In fact, Gio Bernardo Veneroso's *Genio Ligure Risvegliato*, a compendium of navalist propaganda and prognostications, was published by none other than Gio Domenico Peri.

51. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 2, doc. 281 (March 14, 1647).

52. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 2, doc. 281 (March 14, 1647): "Risguardo piu all'utile che communemente darà questo commercio non solo al Publico, e Gabelle ma etiandio a Popoli che al proprio interesse, peròchè se come si spera riuscirà questa navigatione, chi può dubbitare non sij d'utile grandissimo alla Serenissima Repubblica ogn'anno spedire di qui Navi per dette parti et di collà venirne con Merci et Utili nuovi non più sperati."

53. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 2, doc. 281 (March 14, 1647): "così ancora in altre parti del Mondo ove simili compagnie si sono fatte sempre li promottori sono stati privileggiati."

54. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 2, doc. 281 (March 14, 1647): "per aprire navigatione, e trafico di Mercantie nell'Indie Orientali in particolare nel Giappone suoi Vicini, et altri luoghi liberi, e praticabili."

55. ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 2, doc. 278. The letters of patent delivered by the Senate repeat the standard allusion to restoring the republic's past glories (". . . antiquam Ligurii gloriam quasi postliminio restituens").

56. Presotto, "Da Genova alle Indie," 69–91; Subrahmanyam, "On the Significance of Gadflies," 559–81.

57. Subrahmanyam, "On the Significance of Gadflies," 568–69.

58. There is some confusion over the exact date of the company's formation. Claudio Costantini claims that the company is nothing more than an enlargement of the East

India Company, though he places the Compagnia di San Giorgio's origins in 1652–54 and insists on the "initial projects" of the company to unite its ships with those which the republic was having built in Holland, ships that were ordered early in 1652. Giulio Giacchero, on the other hand, places the formation of the company in 1648, though the privileges requested of the Casa di San Giorgio were not granted until 1653. Costantini, "Aspetti della politica navale," 225–26; Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 319–20; Giacchero, *Il Seicento*, 389.

59. For a description of the Casa di San Giorgio as a joint-stock company see Peri, *Il negotiante*, II, 95–97.

60. ASG, Membranacei di S. Giorgio, 115, f. 198; "Pro societate maritima" (December 11/15, 1659).

61. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 320.

62. ASG, Membranacei di S. Giorgio, 115, f. 198; "Pro societate maritima" (December 11/15, 1659): "si sperano grossi emolumenti, e profitti alla compagnia tutta, et in consequenza molti introiti alla casa di S. Georgio."

63. Unfortunately the original charter proposed for the company (and rejected by the Senate) quoted by Giacchero, ASG, Arti, doc. 187, can no longer be found. A number of names are mentioned, however, in the request made to San Giorgio for the renegotiation of the company's outstanding loan with that institution: Gio Bernardo Veneroso, Francesco Maria Imperiale Lercaro (later to be elected doge, 1683–84), Gerolamo de Marini, Nicolò Doria, Paolo Gerolamo Franzone, Marco de Franchi, Gio Ottavio Giustiniani, Emanuele Brignole, Alessandro Imperiale, Francesco Maria Sauli, Gerolamo de Franchi and Giuliano Agostino di Negro. All of them are nobles. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 198. Costantini claims that the members and capital of the East India Company went into the Company of Saint George, but without revealing his sources; Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 319.

64. ASG, ms. 676; ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 7; Casoni, *Annali*, 6:25–27.

65. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii, letter dated February 12, 1651: "Ha poi la Republica voluto far conoscere che non resta mai di concedere li suoi Dritti alla Giustizia per quanto le minaccie de Potenti studiano di farla mancare. Per Publico proclama nelle Piazze a condannato il Signor Giannettino Doria ad esserli tagliato il Capo, come Reo di lesa Maestà, mostrano i Spagnoli di sentire vivamente questa si aperta dichiaratione in disprezzo della loro dignità e potenza, che per ciò doveremo star' attendi se vorrà il signor Conte d'Ognutte autenticare le minaccie con i fatti."

66. See chapter 3.

67. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii, letter dated September 2, 1651.

68. See chapter 3 .

69. Costantini, "Aspetti della politica navale," 214.

70. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, ff. 103–5.

71. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 85; ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (December 16, 1651). The grand duke's correspondent adds that following the failed approval of the plan the magistrates risked being stoned: the deliberation for arming six vessels was "impedita da due gentilhuomini del magistrato di S. Giorggio, contro de quali questo Popolo ha esclamato assai, et non hanno mancato di haver paura d'esser lapidati."

72. Grandson of Carlo Doria, Duke of Tursi and admiral of the Spanish Mediterranean fleet until 1650. The present Carlo Doria was therefore the great-grandson of Gian Andrea Doria.

73. ASG/AS, Politicorum, 1651, fasc. 60 (October 12, 1606); the republic allowed Filippo Saluzzo and Ottaviano Centurione to rent two galleys for the transport of bullion on condition that they embark bullion on behalf of anyone willing to pay 1.5 percent in freight charges to the republic. ASG/AS, Maritimarum, 1667, "Ordini" (October 20, 1659) and "Istruttione" (October 21, 1659), ordering the galleon to accept any and all precious metals as cargo.

74. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (December 16, 1651): "L'afflizione di questa Piazza è grandissima et lagrimevole, la perdita, è in buona parte del Popolo e de' mercanti, et anche nelle nobiltà, ma è assai repartita e tutti ne sentono."

75. See chapter 6 for an analysis of the institution of the free port as an alternative to naval armament during the mid- to late seventeenth century.

76. See ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (December 16, 1651). In relatively more tranquil times insurance on vessels sailing between Genoa and the coast of Spain ran between 4 and 6 percent; Peri, *Il negotiante*, III, 37.

77. There were still those who preferred increasing the number of galleys again rather than building galleons, on the grounds that the French would always have more sailing vessels than the republic, an argument brought up again twenty years later by Nicolò Imperiale. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (December 16, 1651); Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 14.

78. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (December 16, 1651).

79. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 85r–86v, "Per l'armamento de' galeoni" (December 22, 1651). The financial package that finally reached the end of San Giorgio's bureaucratic *iter* on February 3, 1652, provided for the construction and maintenance of four vessels through an increase in import taxes on foodstuffs (a flat increase of 6 soldi per mina on wheat and an increase from 17 to 19 percent on the value of all other foodstuffs), the interest on 25,000 *luoghi* previously assigned to extinguishing *gabelle*, and finally, a charge of 2 percent of the estimated value of all goods transported in convoys escorted by the republic's galleons.

80. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiv (April 13, 1652). There was some apprehension regarding the quality of the ships built in Holland compared with those built in Liguria, given the Dutch practice of building the ships' skeletons entirely of wood while the Genoese reinforced the internal structures with iron; ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiv (January 13, 1652).

81. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 314–15.

82. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, ff. 102r–103r: "These men [the members of the Giunta di Marina: Gio Batta de Ferrari, Gio Antonio Sauli, and Francesco Imperiale] saw clearly that it would have been better to have the ships built in the republic's territory, and that they would have been more sure of the quality and a more advantageous price, and all the money would have remained in the state. But, since the city was now depressed and scandalized . . . and fearing that the project be aborted with the ships still under construction, these good senators chose the lesser evil of ordering the ships in Flanders, three to be built in Texel and the flagship to be built in Amsterdam. They had money sent immediately in order to commit the work to such a point that it could not be distorted later" (Questi [de Ferrari, Sauli and Imperiale] viddero benissimo, che sarebbe stato molto più

accertato, fare anticipatamente fabricare li Vascelli qui nel Dominio, con sicurezza d'averli molto migliori, e con maggior vantaggio nel prezzo, e con rimanere tutto il denaro qui nello stato, ma essendo ormai la Città stracca, e scandalizata . . . e temendo, che se si fosse cominciata qui la fabrica de vascelli . . ., restasse questo parto soffocato nel ventre, ebbero per men male quei buoni Senatori dar la Commissione in Fiandra di 3 li quali furono fabricati in Tessel, e poi della Capitana, che fù fatta in Amsterdam, e fecero subito rimettere gran parte del danaro, tutto per porre il negozio in tale impegno, che non potesse poi più essere distornato).

83. Calcagno, "La Navigazione convogliata," 294–95.

84. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 104v–106r, 108r–109r. In July 1652 (final approval March 18, 1653) the concessions given previously to the *nuovo armamento* and revoked in 1648 were restored to the Magistrato del nuovo armamento and in December 1652 a loan of 50,000 pieces of eight was granted to the new armament for the purchase of artillery for the galleons. The artillery in question, twenty-six pieces for the *capitana*, twenty-two for the *almirante*, and an unspecified number of cannon for the other two vessels, was to be made in Sweden where bronze guns cost 85 lire per cantaro as opposed to 125 lire per cantaro in Genoa; ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1666, "relazioni" (December 2, 1652; April 5, 1653).

85. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiv (April 28, 1652): "questi Signori permetteranno il traffico continuo di esse [the galleys] ne Regni di Spagna con incredibile consolatione di tutta questa Piazza." ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1667, "Relazione del Magnifico Alessandro Grimaldo . . ." (April 28, 1652).

86. See, among others, ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1666, "relazione" (March 18, 1652) suggesting the construction of smaller galleys in order to be able to reinforce the standing squadron without surpassing the republic's limited sources of manpower; ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 22, proposing a reorganization of the means of recruiting free oarsmen in an effort to relaunch the "galere di libertà" (folder dated 1650, but circa 1652).

87. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, ff. 101v–102r: "The Spanish made it understood to the republic on this occasion that if it [the republic] continued to send its galleys to Cádiz, then they would be treated as merchant vessels, making the necessary onboard inspections against contraband. They said that they did not want to allow the Genoese galleys to go once a year to impoverish Spain" (Li Spagnuoli in questa occasione fecero intendere alla Repubblica, che se avessero continuato le Galee andare in Cadice, le averebbero trattate, come Vascelli mercanti, facendo sopra di esse le diligenze necessarie, per assicurarsi di controbandi, non volendo permettere—dicevano essi—che le Galee di Genova andassero una volta l'anno ad impoverire la Spagna).

88. ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1666, "relazione" by Stefano De Mari and Marc'Antonio Sauli (June 26, 1653).

89. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 10 and fasc. 60, "Carte riguardanti l'armamento delle Galere." A defensive league including Venice, Florence, Modena, and Genoa had been proposed as early as August 1642, but negotiations for a bilateral agreement with Venice only began to take shape in 1645 when Giuliano Spinola was sent as ambassador to the Republic of Venice. Any final agreement was repeatedly blocked by questions of precedence and how the standards of the two republics should be displayed.

90. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 65, "Proposta al Minor Consiglio per soccorrere la Repubblica di Venezia contro gli Infedeli."

91. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 65 (February 24, 1647). Raffaele Della Torre: "Sarebbe questa . . . molto approposito in ordine alla declaratione della Serenissima Repubblica che vuole le honoranze regie dentro e fuori del stato." Gerolamo De Marini: "vorrebbe con certezze haver netta la precedenza con le galee di Malta"; "teme che al bisogno de venetiani il soccorso della Repubblica sia molto scarso."

92. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 65 (April 16, 1647).

93. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 38.

94. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (September 15, 1651).

95. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 23, "Deliberazione de Serenissimi Collegi circa il modo di soccerrere li Veneziani," "Nota distinta di quanto consumo fa una Galea di Libertà tanto di stipendio quanto di ratione," and "Relazione di Gio Batta Lomellino e Gio Giorgio Giustiniano" (all of January 1651). Calculating the oarsmen's salaries at 18 lire per month and a complement of 50 soldiers, a free galley cost roughly 10,990 lire per month to operate, or 11,465 with a complement of 90 soldiers and an allowance for powder consumption. At the same time the cost of hiring a Dutch warship with 24 iron cannon and a complement of 100 soldiers was 12,800 lire per month plus 7,190 lire *una tantum* for munitions. The *galere legate* cost roughly 2,300 lire per month to operate. A year later the cost of maintaining a galley with a mixed crew (240 oarsmen: 90 convicts, 60 slaves, and 90 *buonavoglia*) was estimated at 51,380 lire annually. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 41.

96. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (October 1 and October 21, 1651).

97. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 38, "Deliberazione de Collegi in odio del Magnifico Gio Bernardo Veneroso per non aver aferrato gli ordini datili di non più ingerirsi nel trattato di Venezia" (March 14, 1652).

98. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:57–59; ASG, Antica Finanza, reg. 155.

99. ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1666.

100. ASG, ms. 676, quoted in Bitossi, "'Mobbe' e congiure," 606: "quel granello, che posto in una delle due bilance, farà traboccare quella nella quale non sarà."

101. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 52.

102. ASG, Senato, Sala Senarega, Diversorum Collegii, 106 (January 22, 1653), quoted in Bitossi, "'Mobbe' e congiure," 107.

103. In the autumn of 1651 the Spanish ambassador in Rome had even claimed that the Republic of Genoa had become a "declared enemy of the Spanish crown" due to the Genoese negotiations with Venice. The Spanish were well aware that an alliance with Venice could represent the backbone of a system of alliances and, therefore, an alternative to the alliance with Spain. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xiii (October 1, 1651).

104. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:53.

105. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xv (May 23, 1654). By this date 800,000 gold scudi had already been donated to the cause, 100,000 of which by the sole Gio Battista Negroni and 40,000 from the Genoese college of the Jesuits.

106. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xv (various letters of May 1654). "Martedì li 26 maggio in Consiglietto si propose dalli Collegij, che dichiarasse ciascuno il suo volere intorno la conservatione della libertà, et unitamente tutti voglino conservarla, e diffenderla *usque ad ultimu spiritu*, e così furono tutte le voci favorevoli."

107. The state still did not own any sailing warships at this point. The four vessels or-

dered by the republic in Holland more than two years earlier had not been delivered. The first three were not consigned to the Genoese until December 1654 and the fourth in April 1655.

108. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xv (May 16, 1654).

109. Calcagno, "La navigazione convogliata," 294–95. The fourth vessel was delivered in 1655 and escorted two merchant vessels from Texel to Genoa on its maiden voyage.

110. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 338.

111. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, ASCG/BS, 110bis.E.33, ff. 8–9, quoted in Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 338.

112. Calcagno, "La Navigazione convogliata," 294–95.

113. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:59–63.

114. ASG/AS, Marittimarum, filza 1667, "Relattione di Ugo Fiesco Generale delle Galere" (October 31, 1656). During several months at sea Fiesco was unable to encounter the Maltese and carry out his mission.

115. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 26r: "... ritornando poi ebbero più apparenza di ospitali, che di Galee, tutta la gente amalata, chi per non essere buoni à questo esercizio e questi la gente libera, chi per troppo fatica, e questi la gente di Catena." See also Casoni, *Annali*, 6:69.

116. Grendi, *Introduzione*, 55–57. Population levels recovered slowly, probably not reaching preplague levels before the end of the century. Grendi provides the figures of 45,395 for 1661 and 62,044 for 1676.

117. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:72–82.

118. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1655, fasc. 10: "... i marinari stanno hoggi a spatio senz'Impiego"; "... le navi si consumano senza navigare."

119. Venetian naval actions had been hampered during the early phases of the war due to confused chains of command. Insistence by the papal squadron's admiral to be given the supreme command and the Consiglio di Guerra's insistence on reviewing the papal commander's decisions led to a clumsy management of the fleet. After the initial phase of the war the Venetians preferred to receive only financial aid in order to maintain a uniform chain of command within the fleet.

120. Vitale, *Breviario*, 295–96.

121. Calcagno, "La navigazione convogliata," 294–95.

122. *Imposizione del convoglio per far fronte ai corsari*, 13 febbraio 1655, ASG, ms. 44, f. 29.

123. ASG, Antica Finanza, reg. 155.

124. The peaks in participation in the convoys can be explained in terms of the international conjunctures in the Mediterranean. The peak of 1659 coincides with the final period of fighting between England and Spain while the relatively high degree of participation in 1664–65 corresponds to the period of hostility between the English and the Dutch leading up to the second Anglo-Dutch war of 1665–67. The peaks of 1670 and 1671 can be explained in terms of the growing tension prior to the conflict between France and the Triple Alliance (March 1672–February 1674) on a European scale and the conflict between Genoa and Savoy (1672) on a local level. Apparently more difficult to explain is the sudden drop in participation in 1672. During the conflict between the republic and Savoy, however, the French maintained a fleet in the waters of the Genoese Riviera di Ponente, which could easily have overcome the convoy's escort; thus the mer-

chants abandoned the convoy in that year. For the numbers of ships participating in each convoy, see Calcagno, "La navigazione convogliata," 294–95.

125. On the financial organization of the convoys, see chapter 6.

126. ASG/AS, *Propositionum*, busta 1049, doc. 58, "Autorità a Collegi d'impegnare nel nuovo monte le lire 100. 000 ricavate dalla vendita del vascello S. Giovanni Battista" (February 7, 1689).

127. Calcagno, "Rotte e tempi," 254.

128. Grendi in fact calculates the port traffic for 1655 as consisting of 1,285,700 cantari in arrival and 917,400 exiting the port. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 358–59.

129. Dutch convoys to and from the North formed in the waters before Livorno as early as 1641, but Jonathan Israel suggests that the Dutch presence in the Mediterranean had been reduced during the years 1621–47. With the return of the Dutch in force in 1647 the size and frequency of their convoys grew and with them their convenience for Genoese shipping. See Haitsma Mulier, "Genova e l'Olanda," 434; Israel, "England's Mercantilist Response." For the English, Pagano De Divitiis, "Il porto di Livorno," 44–45; Cipolla, *Il Burocrate*, 11, 104. The English convoys were provided with a military escort to Genoa and Livorno beginning at the latest in 1664. Beginning in 1665 the English maintained a permanent squadron of eight men-of-war and four frigates in the Mediterranean.

130. Israel, "England's Mercantilist Response," 51–52.

131. ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1667, "relazione" (February 21, 1657). In December 1656 the Colleges had asked the Magistracy of the New Armament to consider lowering the standard "verso qualsivoglia Nattione, et Armata." The ad hoc deputation formed to study the question reports that such an act would not be possible, given the fact that the standard of a warship represents the authority and dominion of the sovereign who issued it and, as a consequence, lowering the standard would imply an act of submission by the sovereign. As a way around the problem the magistracy suggested that no standard be flown at all, yet the final decision was left to the individual ships' captains.

132. For example, ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1671, "relazione" of the galley captain Ippolito Gallo (August 11, 1668), and letter from the Genoese ambassador in Spain, Gio Batta Pallavicino (August 1668).

133. ASG/AS, Maritimarum, filza 1667 (October 20, 1659): "Li Serenissimi Collegi a palle hanno concessa facoltà all Governatore del Galeone che di presente ha da partire per Cadice di poter imbarcare etiandio qualsisia denari barre merci et altro de quali non si havesse tratta o sciacca [*saca*] non ostante quanto in contrario a ciò si contiene nell'istruttione dattali, con che di questa qualità di denari, barre, merci et altro ne tenga registro segreto a parte che doverà subito al suo ritorno portare al Prestantissimo Magistrato del nuovo armamento e sia alli Collegi Serenissimi" (among many similar examples in this *fondo*). The official instructions, which can also be found in this series, specify that precious metals can be loaded only if accompanied by the appropriate license, but these orders were apparently only for the sake of appearance should the ship be inspected by the Spanish. ASG, Antica Finanza, Nuovo Armamento, regs. 155–58, concerning credits for freight charges on bullion and goods carried in the galleons.

134. The unfortunate *Sansone* and *Marabotta* serve as examples prior to the institution of the convoys, but sporadic information shows that the practice was continued even during the period covered by the convoys. One example, ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xix (July 19, 1662): "Two Genoese vessels arrived in port, coming from Cádiz in 22 days and carrying various goods and 80,000 pieces [of eight reals] in cash"

(Approdarono a questo Porto due Vasselli Genovesi, venuti da Cadice in 22 giorni che portano varie merci, con 80m pezzi contanti).

135. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xix (July 21, 1663).

136. ASF, Carte Strozziane, I serie, 106: "Commercio reciproco tra i paesi della dominazione di Portogallo e esito delle mercanzie de' suddetti paesi ne' paesi forastieri nel 1674," ff. 175v–176r.

137. Of the 480 ships attacked by Christian pirates in the republic's waters between 1634 and 1698, 226 were attacked by Spanish pirates (as opposed to 228 by French, 8 by English, and 3 by Dutch pirates). Costantini, "Aspetti della politica navale," 213.

SIX: Galleons, Galleys, and the Free Port

1. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1:629; Grendi, *Il Cervo e la repubblica*, 77, 82–83. Grendi notes that of fifty-seven Ligurian communities examined in a 1531 document only two were autosufficient in terms of food supply. Paradoxically, given the highly specialized organization of the region's agriculture, only the least economically developed communities were able to produce their own food supply.

2. For the rights to export grain from Sicily granted to Gian Andrea Doria and the other *asentistas de galeras*, see Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys*, 30–31. For examples of the privileges granted to Genoese merchants for the exportation of grain from Sicily (1537), the Kingdom of Naples, and the Duchy of Milan (1580), see ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1650, fasc. 35.

3. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 173–223.

4. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1650, fasc. 69, "Ricordi delli Gallere, con la posta al minor Consiglio" (July 20, 1568): "... si può temere che l'imporre nuove gravezze in dugana non venga a causar gran' danno alla navicatione et al traffico rispetto alle vicine scale ove hoggidi come ognun' vede concorre la maggior parte del negotio essendo elle poco, o niente gravate."

5. The 1565 reforms instituted by Cosimo I of Tuscany allowed for the deposit in the warehouses of the free port of merchandise originating beyond Genoa to the north and Civitavecchia to the south, for up to one year without taxation. Within that one-year period goods could be reexported at reduced customs rates, which were paid in full only in the case that they were sold for local consumption or transport to the interior. *Riforma dello Statuto del Porto e Terra di Livorno, promulgata nel 1565*, BNCF II.4.

6. ASG/AS, Grida e Proclami, busta 1016, fasc. 23, "Ordine del Governo per cui vietasi l'estrazione delle vettovaglie ..." (October 10, 1590).

7. ASG/AS, Decreti del Senato, 837 (August 11, 1590); ASG/AS, Decreti del Senato, 838 (January 28, 1591); ASCG, Magistrato dell'Abbondanza, Actorum, f. 723; "Crida del salvocondotto et portofranco ..." (February 12, 1591), published in Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*, 249.

8. ASG, Atti del Senato, filza 1292, "Tractatio de reformatione gabellae granorum." Measures similar to those enacted in 1590 had even been used temporarily in 1575 in order to attract grain shipments to the city during the civil war. The supply of grain had been more than sufficient, but the lack of any fiscal counterbalance to the exemptions granted to wheat shipments led to a long and drawn-out legal battle between the republic and the 1575 tax farmers who demanded the payment of damages; ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 112, f. 130.

9. The free port was renewed on August 2, 1591, and again in September 1592 in vir-

tually the same form as before, with the sole exception that its validity was limited to the port of Genoa and not to the entire republic. Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*, 62–63, 81. Roccatagliata reports that by early 1592 the price of wheat had fallen from forty-five lire per mina (approximately ninety kilograms) to thirty and that on the sole day of January 18, 1592, 130 ships carrying grain entered the port of Genoa. In June of 1593, following the arrival of a group of ships bringing grain from Amsterdam the price of wheat fell to eighteen lire per mina; Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 158; ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860, f. 222.

10. ASG/AS, Lettere Spagna, busta 2419 (September 12, 1591), letter from the Genoese ambassador to Spain, Pier Battista Cattaneo, to the republic. Earlier in the year the Spanish galleys had captured a number of ships carrying grain from Danzig to Livorno and continually appealed to Genoa for permission to attack English shipping in Ligurian waters. Upon request by the Senate, however, in September Philip granted safe conduct to all ships carrying foodstuffs to Genoa.

11. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, docs. 23 (January 10, 1591), 42, 44 (August 27, 1591).

12. Roccatagliata, *Annali*, 213–14.

13. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, doc. 41 (September 26, 1591); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, doc. 66 (June 25, 1594).

14. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, doc. 106bis (October 11, 1593), doc. 119 (January 27, 1594). In fact, by the end of 1594 the accounts of the Ufficio delle Galere were in the black, with a surplus of 1,500 lire, though 60,000 lire were still owed to the office for the construction of galleys for ships delivered in 1582, 1583, and 1586. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1651, fasc. 6 contains the republic's balance sheets for the years 1594, 1595, and 1597.

15. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1651, doc. 2 (March 16, 1594). The document also mentions that wood and iron for the construction of two complete galleys had been salvaged from the four destroyed in the old arsenal's collapse. Also, ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 113, ff. 4, 13v.

16. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 113, f. 41 (request of January 19, 1600).

17. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, doc. 156 (April 9/15, 1595).

18. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1651, fasc. 14, "Deliberazione dei Serenissimi Collegi circa il modo e forma di terminare la fabbrica dell'Arsenale già incominciata" (September 10, 1599). For a description of the various projects for the arsenal, Poleggi, "L'arsenale della Repubblica di Genova."

19. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029, doc. 211, "Capitoli del Magistrato dell'Arsenale" (August 21, 1606/January 16, 1607); ASCG/BS, ms. 110bis.E.25, *Decreti della Serenissima Repubblica di Genova (1604–1691)*, f. 16v (March 19, 1607).

20. ASG/AS, Decreti del Senato, man. 837, p. 119, published in Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*.

21. ASCG, Magistrato dell'Abbondanza, Actorum, f. 723, "Grida" (August 2, 1591); published in Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*.

22. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, doc. 72 (September 18, 1592).

23. ASCG, Magistrato dell'Abbondanza, Actorum, filza 725, "Grida" (February 18, 1593), published in Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*.

24. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, doc. 156 (April 9/15, 1595).

25. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1028, doc. 156 (April 9/15, 1595): "havendo

dall'isperienza conosciuto quanto nelle strettezze, e penurie ultimamente passate habbia in ciò giovato la concessione del porto franco. . . ."

26. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029, doc. 35.

27. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029, doc. 148 (January 14/19, 1605): "[T]he Most Serene Colleges . . . on March 15, 1595, without prejudicing in any way their authority in any manner, conceded the free port with the intervention of both councils" (li Serenissimi Collegi . . . l'anno 1595 à 15 di Marzo senza pregiuditio di qualsivoglia autorità, che in ciò potessi competer loro, fecero con l'intervento dell'un, e l'altro de consegli della Republica concessione di Portofranco); "the above-mentioned assent [of San Giorgio] was sought, but the most illustrious protectors of that house were not so inclined, thus the concession has not had those brilliant effects which were hoped for" (fù ricercato detto assenso, al quale non inclinarono li molto Illustri Protettori di quella casa, onde non ha fatto detta concessione quei gagliardi effetti, che si speravano).

28. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029, doc. 148 (January 14/19, 1605): "escluse però quelle navi, et vettovaglie, et patroni di esse, quali già han preso accordo con li moderni Governatori della gabella del grano del presente quinquennio."

29. Forcheri, "Il ritorno allo stato di polizia," 53–67.

30. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1029, doc. 173. The proposal, dated October 10, 1605, passed the Minor Consiglio on October 21 and the Maggior Consiglio on November 18, 1605.

31. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1651, fasc. 73, doc. (May 9, 1608).

32. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1030, doc. 103 (May 19/20, 1608).

33. The privilege of storing goods for up to one year without paying duty, as well as exemptions given for goods brought from and exported to ports distant more than 100 miles from the city and a series of tax reductions based on the type and destination of merchandise had been in place in Livorno since 1565. With the guarantee of protection and religious freedom to foreign merchants established in 1593, the city's fortunes as an emporium rose dramatically. Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana*, 158–59, 301, 396–97; *Riforma dello Statuto del Porto e Terra di Livorno, promulgata nel 1565*, BNCF II.4, ff. 1–25; Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, 14:10–23 (decree of June 10, 1593).

34. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 1, contains both the manuscript copy of the proposal as discussed by the Colleges (the Senate and Camera) (January 30, 1609), as well as a printed copy of the law (August 1, 1609). See also ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1030, doc. 158 (June 3, 1609); ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 231.

35. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 327.

36. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 1: "della quale pena non possa essere loro fatta gratia alcuna, *sub vinculo iuramenti*, atteso che senza simil modo di governo non si potria far detto Porto franco."

37. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1031, doc. 99.

38. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 360.

39. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1032, doc. 156 (January 29, 1618): "più largo e più libero, e più facile, con minor occasione che sia possibile di dispute."

40. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.1.

41. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 45 (May 25, 1618). The measure was promoted by the *procuratori perpetui* Geronimo Assereto and Agostino Pinello, both identified with the project of the free port. Assereto was doge during the negotiations and formulation of the first free port for merchandise (1607–8) and Pinello was doge when those

measures were put in place (1609–10). Both Assereto and Pinello had also been members of the deputation for the reconstruction of the arsenal; see ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1651, fasc. 14, "Deliberazione dei Serenissimi Collegi circa il modo e forma di terminare la fabbrica dell'Arsenale già incominciata" (September 10, 1599).

42. Based on the figures provided by Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 360.

43. See ASG/AS, *Propositionum*, busta 1033, doc. 230 (January 31, 1623); articles of the "Nuovo Porto Franco in Genova" as well as the proposal presenting the articles to the councils for approval. Unlike the previous rules for the free port which were valid for five years, the 1623 regulations were to last for a ten-year period.

44. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 20 (May 5, 1628); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 134 (June 26, 1629). This latter document explains the mechanism by which the Camera dei Procuratori purchased the tax known as the *peaggetto* from Saint George (as specified in the 1628 free-port modifications) in order to administer it themselves, with the hopes of both reducing the tax burden and increasing the state's direct revenue.

45. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1036, doc. 119 (January 29, 1633); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1037, doc. 244 (September 27, 1638).

46. Based on the figures provided by Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 358–59.

47. Haitsma Mulier, "Genova e l'Olanda nel Seicento," 435.

48. Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana*, 301.

49. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 338–39.

50. ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1034, doc. 149 (December 6, 1625).

51. The conflict between the backers of a free-port policy and the proponents of an ambitious naval armament program were only to emerge later, when the "navalists" began to request specific privileges as a means of favoring state subsidized shipping. See my discussion in the next section.

52. Two examples would be the "free fairs" of Pisa established in 1562 and of Casale Monferrato established in 1615. Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, 4:376–79; ASG/AS, Grida e Proclami, busta 1018, fasc. 17. In addition to the *porti franchi* of Livorno and Genoa, in 1613 both Nice and Villefranche were declared free ports by the Duke of Savoy (for goods coming from beyond Gibraltar to the west and Venice to the east); Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*, 122.

53. ASG/AS, Lettere Spagna, busta 2419.

54. Pagano De Divitiis, "Il porto di Livorno," 48.

55. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 329–30.

56. Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 107r: "Il fine del Porto franco, non è altro, se non il crescimento del Traffico, e delle merci in Genova, mà qualcosa è più atta ad impedire il conseguimento di questo fine, quanto la piratica, e le ruberie [?]."

57. The quotation marks around the word "liberalizing" are necessary because, as is discussed later in this chapter, the modifications made in the port tariff structure did not correspond to a line of reasoning that can be identified with a faith in the self-regulating market economy or with Victorian "liberalism."

58. Doria, "La gestione del porto," 178.

59. Doria, "La gestione del porto," 149–50.

60. Moneys were finally assigned to the new armament on December 7, 1645, more than three years after the creation of the squadron of free galleys, and were revoked in November 1648. Significantly, no new duties were instituted for the maintenance of the

free galleys, rather a percentage of all confiscations and discounts was funneled to the *nuovo armamento*. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 36, "Propositio ad favorem novi armamenti"; ASG, fondo Gavazzo, filza 1, doc. 22, "Considerationi e proposte per l'armamento delle galee" (1652) (the cover folder bears the incorrect date "1650"). In spite of the lack of new *gabelle*, the Casa di San Giorgio passed the considerable sum of 1,600,000 lire to the *nuovo armamento* between December 1645 and November 1648.

61. Strictly speaking the republic and the Casa di San Giorgio had separate incomes, though the income of San Giorgio consisted in the collection of taxes and duties alienated to it by the republic in exchange for anticipations in cash or in contributions made at regular intervals. All in all then, I feel that the bank's income can fairly be called the republic's income.

62. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 85r–86v: "Le continue rapine e prede maritime e li eccessivi danni anzi totale esterminio che caggionano al traffico sforzano a tenere continuamente applicato l'animo & il pensiero ad un ben presto e opportuno remedio quale essendo communemente stato stimato un'adeguato armamento maritima. . . . "

63. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 85r–86v; ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 23 (January 23, 1651). The cost estimate refers to hired vessels rather than ships to be bought and therefore also includes the amortization of the ship itself.

64. See the next section.

65. See chapter 5.

66. BCB, F. Ant., m.r. IV.5.5, f. 183r. This document, written to encourage the further liberalization of the free port in 1692, claims that shortly after the decree of 1645 the port was filled with merchandise. Given the figures available for the levels of port traffic, and the nature of the successive decrees regulating the free port, it seems probable that the observer of the 1690s has confused the measures discussed in 1645 with those which went into effect in 1654, discussed later. According to Grendi's calculations the volume of traffic during the years covered by the free port of 1645–46 (valid until February 1650) witnessed a sharp increase in the sole year of 1649. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 358.

67. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.2.

68. Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana*, 396–97.

69. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.2.

70. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 46r (April 30, 1646/July 3, 1647): "[W]e the agents of the republic appeal to your lordships that given the necessity that all of you are aware of, not only to conserve the public income, but to increase it as much as possible" (. . . noi agenti per la Repubblica facciamo instanza alle Signorie Vostre, che attesa la necessità, che come ad'ogn'uno è noto, e in Camera non solamente di conservare ma di accrescere per quanto è possibile li publici introiti . . .).

71. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 40v–43r, "Propositio pro prorogatione additionis, et dilatationis Gabelle, Pedagios terti partis . . ." (September 9, 1643/January 21, 1644); ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 50r–51v (November 13, 1647/March 5, 1648).

72. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 45v–46r (April 30, 1646/July 3, 1647). Corroborating the fact that the general tax burden had been shifted away from the transit traffic in the port toward other sources of revenue, the income from taxes on the *dominio* had been increased tenfold over the century running from 1550 to 1650, from

58,629 to 539,582 lire; Felloni, "Distribuzione territoriale della ricchezza privata nel territorio della Repubblica dei genovesi attorno al 1630" (1983).

73. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 46v–47r, "Pro ampliatione magazenos Portus Franci" (October 30, 1646/June 18, 1647): "Il Magazeno del Portofranco ultimamente fabricato non riesce della capacità che si richiede, stante che doppo la fabrica di esso è concorsa in questa Città molto maggior quantità di panni, e merci di quello era solito per l'avanti. . . ." The warehouses set aside for the storage of goods deposited in the free port had been enlarged in 1633 and again in 1644 110,000 lire had been spent on storage buildings and other works to improve port facilities. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32, note to the Maggior Consiglio (June 28, 1655).

74. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 53 (November 26, 1647/December 29, 1648). The duty on wheat remained thirty-eight soldi per mina, while the duties on rye and barley were reduced respectively from thirty-eight to twenty-four soldi per mina, and from twenty-two soldi and six denari to sixteen soldi per mina; a reduction was made from twenty-two soldi and six denari to twelve soldi for fodder.

75. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 59v–66v (December 9, 1649—approved by Colleges) (March 9, 1650—approved by San Giorgio); ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 77 (March 5, 1651); the purpose of the additional 4 to 5 percent on goods from Livorno is stated explicitly: to attract the Levant trade to Genoa.

76. Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*, 122.

77. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 358–360. Grendi calculates the arrivals in 1650 as reaching a total of 503,100 cantari, whereas the five-year average for 1645–49 is 864,387 and for 1651–55 is 890,532.

78. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 77 (March 5, 1651—Colleges) (May 23, 1651—Saint George). The Colleges admit that "experience has shown that this innovation does not bring about the benefits hoped for, but rather can be prejudicial to the public income, because the desired results have not been forthcoming" (l'isperienza ha fatto conoscere che questa innovatione non porta quel beneficio che si era sperato, ma che anzi può riuscire pregiudiciale alli publici introiti, poiche il supposto fatto non ha conseguito l'essito desiderato).

79. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.4, "Portofranco generalissimo in Genova, per li grani, e vettovaglie soggette alla Gabella del Grano."

80. Given the underlying logic of the free port, that of raising taxes on consumption in order to lower taxes on goods in transit, the duty on grain had necessarily to remain high. In fact, in spite of the reductions on secondary cereals mentioned previously, the *gabella del grano* was raised twelve times between its institution in 1475 and 1652, reaching forty-two soldi per mina compared to its original two soldi per mina. In like manner the salt tax rose by twelve lire per mina between 1555 and 1638. Grendi, *Il Cervo e la repubblica*, 93.

81. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.5, "Portofranco Amplissimo per le merci."

82. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.5, "Portofranco Amplissimo per le merci": "Si permette ad ogni e qualunque persona di qualsivoglia natione, stato, grado, e conditione nessuna esclusa, il poter venire alla presente Città di Genova etiandio con le loro famiglie, robe, & havere, & in essa stare e dimorare tutto quel tempo che vorranno, con libertà di partirsene sempre, e quando a loro piacerà senza verun ostacolo, ne impedimento, e di potervi negotiare in Cambi, merci, e vettovaglie, & essercitare qualsivogli altra sorte di traffico, sotto libero, generale e generalissimo Portofranco come si dirà in appresso; E gli Hebrei, gl'Infedeli ancora s'ammetterranno e saran ricevuti sotto li modi, e forme che

comanderanno li Serenissimi Colleggi, esclusi però sempre dalla presente Concessione e Privilegi, i relegati, e banditi dallo Stato della Serenissima Republica."

83. Curiously, ships of more than 500 cantari arriving from the area between the geographical limits and the borders of the *dominio* were also admitted to the free port. The goods in ships loaded outside of the limits benefited from the free-port privileges in their entirety, while the goods originating in the area between the limits and the republic's borders were given the same reductions afforded Florentine products. On the other hand, goods originating outside the limits, but loaded within the limits, were not allowed any privileges at all. In effect, this clause allowed ships to frequent Livorno without losing the possibility of transporting to Genoa any goods that had not been unloaded in the Tuscan port.

84. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 358.

85. See chapter 5.

86. Calcagno, "La navigazione convogliata," 292, 295–96; Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 358. The convoys arriving in Genoa in 1655 comprised the republic's first three galleons on their maiden voyage from Texel to Cádiz to Genoa (the vessels left Texel on December 10, 1654, and arrived in Genoa on February 5, 1655) and later from Cádiz on September 8, 1655, and three warships and two merchant vessels from Spain. Convoyed shipping in 1655 represented 12.4 percent of port traffic leaving the port and 5.9 percent arriving.

87. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1656, fasc. 89, "Esposizione a Collegi circa la fabbrica de Magazeni a porto franco" (November 16, 1654).

88. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, f. 124 (June 28, 1655): "Signori, la deliberatione, che le signorie vostre fecero l'anno passato del Portofranco riesce in prattica tanto profittevole, che li magazeni dell'istesso Portofranco non sono capaci di ricevere le mercantie, che in questa Città sono concorse, in maniera che siamo stati necessitati etiandio con pericolo di pregiudicare gl'introiti publici, prendere a pigione siti particolari, e permettere che molte merci di Portofranco si siano riposte in Dugana." The new warehouses begun in 1655 were completed in 1661. *Ordini da osservarsi per il buon governo et amministratione de' nuovi magazeni di Portofranco* (Genoa: Calenzani, 1661).

89. BCB, F. Ant., m.r. IV.5.18, *Informatione per il portofranco* (ca. 1651): "... haverebbe interessati con noi molti stati, per il gran capitale che terrebbero sempre qui, e fra l'altri due delle più ricche e potenti repubbliche del mondo benche nove, e sono quelle d'Inghilterra, e delle Province unite di fiandra, s'haverebbe sempre in questo porto gran numero de navi, di barche, e marinaresca, delle quali si potrebbe valere la Repubblica in un bisogno per diffendersi dall'armate nemiche. Il Portofranco provederebbe de monitioni da vivere, e da guerra, et haverebbe per questo mezzo almeno indirettamente il trafico per levante interessandosi con i mercanti Inglesi e fiaminghi, che farebbero le loro speditioni qui per quelle parti come fanno al presente da livorno oltre li armeni, Turchi, et altre nationi orientali che portarebbero loro stessi le merci di levante qui."

90. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 6:373.

91. See chapter 5.

92. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:72–82; Presotto, "Genova 1656–1657"; Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 355–57. For a contemporary account, see *Relatione del successo nel contagio di Genova del 1657* (4th doc. in codex), BNCF II.IV.195 (ex-Magl. Cl. VIII, no. 1453).

93. The income from the *carati*, the principal customs duty on port traffic, fell from an annual average of 350,000 lire (1651–55) to 230,000 in 1660, but rose again to 290,000 during the 1660s. Most of the ground recovered, though, was to be attributed to an in-

crease in traffic in "silk, woolens, sugar, and drugs, of which the poor consume little," and not to a recovery of grain or oil consumption. ASG, Cancellieri di San Giorgio, Sala 35, sc. 39, Viceti 1660–87, doc. 29; ASG, Cancellieri di San Giorgio, Sala 35, sc. 36, Maberini, Secretorum 1658–67, docs. 69, 175bis.

94. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 125r, "Propositio pro Capitulis circa ampliationem Portus franci" (June 30, 1659/December 15, 1659): "... l'anno passato si deliberò, come pur anco sanno un nuovo porto franco molto più ampio de gl'antecedenti, ma non ha portato quel frutto che si sperava; perché li mercadanti forastieri hanno in tempo del contaggio che è durato troppo longo tempo, radicato i loro negotij in altre parti."

95. Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 228; silk production during the five-year period 1656–60, including the plague years, was roughly half that of the preceding and successive five-year averages. Immediately following the plague the republic saw fit to loan 150,000 silver crowns to the silk and wool guilds in order to bolster production after the losses of 1656–57. Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*, 136.

96. This last clause represents an attempt to make Genoa the most convenient outlet for the exportation and overseas distribution of Florentine and Lucchese products, usurping that role from Livorno.

97. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 364–65.

98. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 133v–135v (September 13, 1660).

99. ASG, Membranacei di San Giorgio, 115, ff. 179r–180r. Ships of less than 1,500 cantari were exempt from the anchorage tax. The right to collect the anchorage tax was sold to private citizens on the basis of pluriannual contracts, and, in fact, the price of this contract had dropped from the very high level of 1654, approximately 21,350 lire, to 15,082 lire for 1661–62 and 12,823 for 1663–66. Doria, "La gestione del porto," 191.

100. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.10 and B.32.11.

101. BCB, Miscellanea genovese, B.32.11.

102. The trend of curtailing tax reductions on local consumption began with a series of reforms in 1643. Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana*, 396–97.

103. See the anonymous pamphlet *Free Ports, the Nature and Necessitie of them Stated* (London: Du Gard, 1651, reprinted in 1652). It should be noted that this book was published by William Du Gard, official printer to the Council of State. Unlike the English, the Dutch had always followed a policy of levying only very light import and export duties on goods coming and going through Amsterdam. It must also be pointed out that even Thomas Violet was not entirely opposed to a limited free-port policy, suggesting that Dover be made a free port. Significantly enough, in arguing his case Violet points to the successful examples of Genoa, Livorno, and Amsterdam. Israel, "England's Mercantilist Response," 57.

104. *A Proclamation Declaring His Majesties pleasure to Settle and Establish a Free Port at His City of Tanger in Africa* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker Printers, 1662).

105. Giacchero, *Origini e sviluppo*, 144.

106. Lane, *Venice*, 418. With the reimposition of norms giving Venetian ships the right to load first in Venice in 1662, customs receipts plummeted as foreign shipping went elsewhere.

107. Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana*, 396–97. See also Archivio di Stato di Livorno, Governo civile e militare, 1025, "Memorie sopra i privilegi di Livorno."

108. Frattarelli Fischer, "Livorno 1676," 47.

109. Frattarelli Fischer, "Livorno 1676," 48–49.

110. It should be noted that even the measures in favor of the Genoese convoys were not made exclusively in favor of domestic shipping; foreign vessels were allowed (and even encouraged) to participate in the convoys on exactly the same terms as the Genoese.

111. A similar rationale lies behind the formation of the free ports of Ancona and Trieste in the eighteenth century. Given the traditional Venetian dominance of the Adriatic, neither of these two cities had ever developed a merchant fleet or commercial networks for long-distance trade. With the waning of Venetian control over that sea, the papacy and the empire imitated the Livornese model in an attempt to bolster the position of the two Adriatic ports.

112. Public Record Office (London), State Papers Foreign, Tuscany, 98/4, 197–99, letter from Joseph Kent in Livorno (April 27, 1663); quoted in Pagano De Divitiis, "Il porto di Livorno," 49.

113. By the 1660s Genoa, not Livorno, was the first stop of the Dutch convoys to the Mediterranean; ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 2860a, fasc. xix (July 21, 1663). See also ASF, Carte Strozziane, I serie, 106, ff. 182–90, "Traffico d'Italia nel 1674." This *relazione* also mentions Genoa as the first stop of the Dutch convoys, but claims that goods from the Indies were sent in greater quantities to Livorno. Genoa, however, is placed at the top of the list of Italian ports and the Genoese as second only to the Venetians among the Italians in the carrying trade. As early as 1659 the English too escorted their convoys first to Genoa and then to Livorno, where the convoys for the Levant were organized. Pagano De Divitiis, G., "Il porto di Livorno," 45.

114. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 772–74.

115. Haitsma Mulier, "Genova e l'Olanda," 435.

CONCLUSION: A Century of Ships and Paper

1. There is a fairly extensive bibliography on this phenomenon, which is treated thoroughly in Heers, *Gênes*.

2. See the first section of chapter 3.

3. See the section on converging interests in chapter 3.

4. I use the term as a political equivalent to the interpretative "horizon of reading" proposed by Hans Robert Jauss. See Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception;* Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience*.

5. ASG/AS, Politicorum, busta 1652, fasc. 22 (March 22, 1613).

6. Two random examples: ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1032, doc. 156 (January 29, 1618): "For many years the concession of free port [privileges] has been made in order to keep traffic and commerce more lively, on which both public and private advantage depend. And experience has shown . . . that granting more ample and more free [privileges] brings greater benefits" (Da molti anni in quà si è andato concedendo Portofranco per maggiormente tener vivo 'l traffico della mercantia dal quale dipende gran commodo al publico et al privato, et essendosi conosciuto con l'isperienza di quest'anni passati . . . che concedendolo più largo e più libero, e più facile . . . dia per appartar maggior beneficio); ASG/AS, Propositionum, busta 1035, doc. 20 (May 20, 1628): "It having been demonstrated by experience that the ease in collecting duties and the concession of free port [privileges] bring a great flow of traffic and other positive effects, not only for the abundance [of goods] in the country, but also to the profit and benefit of the public in-

come . . ." (Havendo l'isperienza dimostrato, che l'agevolezza nel riscuoter le gabelle, e la concessione de i Portifranchi, apportano concorso grande di traffico, et altri buoni effetti, non solo per l'abbondanza dei Paesi, ma ancora per utile e beneficio dell'Introiti publici . . .).

7. Peri, *Il negotiante*, IIIa, 141.

8. That this was the prevalent view in Genoa as well is illustrated in the following example: when the decision was made to purchase four galleons in 1651, Nicolò Imperiale relates that they would have preferred to have the ships built in the republic so that "all the money would have remained in the state." Imperiale, *Panacea Politica*, f. 102r.

9. Even in this aspect the free port addressed the same goals as the proposals for naval rearmament.

10. Gigliola Pagano di Divitiis even claims that at midcentury Genoa was the *only* European city possessing vast cash resources; Pagano De Divitiis. "L'Italia fuori d'Italia," 332. Fernand Braudel also points out that "at the end of the *eighteenth* century, the Genoese community in Cádiz was still handling a turnover comparable to that of the English, Dutch or French merchant colonies there"; Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 3:169 (emphasis added).

11. ASF, Carte Strozziane, I serie, 106: "Traffico d'Italia nel 1674," f. 183r–v; Mandich, "Fiere cambiarie," 123–51.

12. This, of course, could be claimed for every period in the city's history. The essential difference, though, lies in the fact that the shift of Genoese interests to the West and Genoese involvement in Spanish finances led to the creation of a European-wide financial network centered on Genoa; the return to "real" commerce in the seventeenth century saw the Ligurian city used only as a regional, Mediterranean hub and redistribution center, of only a secondary order compared with the new hubs of London and Amsterdam.

13. Costantini, *La Repubblica*, 376; Grendi, *La repubblica aristocratica*, 339, 344–45.

14. Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*.

15. See my earlier discussion in chapter 5.

16. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:104–20.

17. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:106: ". . . riflettessero, che mentre altri a cagione delle guerre più non frequentavano le scale del Levante supplirebbero le Navi della Repubblica alle loro veci, e trasporterebonvi tutte le cose più necessarie, e più pellegrine; usare giornalmente i Genovesi con la Spagna, e col Portogallo, ma co' doviziosissimi Reami nell'Indie Occidentali, ed Orientali degli Spagnuoli, e de' Portoghesi. . . ."

18. The Turks' unwillingness to renew Genoese privileges could perhaps be attributed to the role of a number of the republic's citizens in dumping bad coins on the Turkish market; see the episode narrated in Cipolla, *Tre storie extra vaganti*, 59–72.

19. The 1674 *relazioni* in the Carte Strozziane of the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (I serie, 106) mention the Genoese active in Smyrna, though Jacques Savary in 1675 claims that few Genoese were still active in the Ottoman Empire after the scandals over counterfeited French coins allegedly imported by the Genoese up until roughly 1669–70 (quoted in Cipolla, *Tre storie extra vaganti*, 59–60).

20. BCB, F. Ant., m.r. IV. 5. 18, *Informatione per il Portofranco* (ca. 1651).

21. Casoni, *Annali*, 6:4–5, 205–7.

Bibliography

ARCHIVAL AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Archivio di Stato di Firenze

Mediceo del Principato: 2845, 2860, 2860a, 2861, 5143.
Carte Strozziane, I serie: 106, 145, 146, 267, 268, 269, 302, 363.

Archivio di Stato di Genova

Antica Finanza: 155–158, 442, 708, 709, 958, 1450.
Archivio Segreto, Decreti del Senato: 837, 838.
Archivio Segreto, Giunta di Marina: 1728.
Archivio Segreto, Gride e Proclami: 1016–23.
Archivio Segreto, Lettere Ministri di Spagna: 2419, 2434.
Archivio Segreto, Maritimarum: 1666–69.
Archivio Segreto, Materia Politica: 2712–14, 2717, 2718.
Archivio Segreto, Politicorum: 1650–59.
Archivio Segreto, Propositionum: 1027–44.
Atti del Senato: 1292.
Biblioteca: 129.
Cancellieri di San Giorgio: 324.
Cancellieri di San Giorgio, Sala 35: 36, 39.
Fondo Gavazzo: 1, 2.
Magistrato delle Galee, Contente: 1.
Membranacei di San Giorgio: 66, 112, 113, 115, 215, 231.
Senato, Sala Gallo: 566, 567, 704–7.
Senato, Sala Senarega: 15, 16, 85, 92, 98, 530, 1081, 1497.

Manuscripts

Dialoghi sopra la Repubblica di Genova suo governo, origini tanto delle famiglie vecchie, come nuove, et altri particolari (early 1620s). Ms. 859.
Dogi, Governatori e Procuratori della Repubblica di Genova e delle Case Nobili che formavano il Seminario per simili uffici. Ms. 706.
Historia de' tumulti della Rep.ca di Genova degli anni 1574–75–76. Ms. 953.
Imposizione del convoglio per far fronte ai corsari, 13 febbraio 1655. Ms. 44, ff. 13–17.
Leges Novae (1576). Biblioteca, ms. 5.

Magistrati coi quali si governava la Repubblica di Genova. Ms. 675.
Pratiche trattate nei Consigli della Repubblica 1645–1655. Ms. 676.
Federici, Federico. *Discorso contro i cavalieri di Malta* (1635). Ms. 51, ff. 1–5.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia

Dispacci degli ambasciatori al Senato, Spagna: 7, 8, 14, 19, 21, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 42, 45, 48, 52, 55, 58, 62, 68, 70, 71, 75, 76, 82, 85, 88, 99, 106.
Dispacci dei consoli ai V Savj di mercatura: 675.

Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova

Dialoghi dei Vecchi contro i Nuovi e dei Nuovi contro i Vecchi. Mss. 129, 130.
Lercaro, Giovanni Battista. *Le Turbolenze di Genova dell Anno 1575*. Ms. 123 (also ASG, ms. 953).

Fondo Brignole Sale

Decreti della Serenissima Repubblica di Genova (1604–1691), f. 16v (March 19, 1607). Fondo Brignole Sale 110bis.E.25.
Dialoghi storici. Fondo Brignole Sale 103.A.3.
Grimaldi, Francesco. *Che cosa sia la Casa di San Giorgio*. Fondo Brignole Sale 110bis.E.31.
Spinola, Andrea. *Osservazioni intorno al Governo di Genova*. Fondo Brignole Sale 110.D.16.

Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa

Informatione per il portofranco (ca. 1651). F. Ant., m.r. IV.5.18, ff. 254–56.
Miscellanea genovese, B.32.1–5, B.32.10–11.
Quando un principe, o generale o cavaliero, fosse desideroso per sapere come si fa galiere . . . (late XVI early XVII century). M.r. VII.5.49, ff. 105–8.
Raccolta di leggi e decreti riguardanti il Prestantissimo Magistrato delle Galee (sec. XVII). F. Ant., m.r. VII.2.29.
Sogno sopra la Republica di Genova veduto nella morte di Agostino Pinello (1567). F. Ant., m.r. VII.5.50 (also BUG, B.I.19).
Doria, G. A., *Vita del principe Gio Andrea Doria scritta da lui medesimo*. Fondo Arese, 13.
Giustiniani, Alessandro. *Memorie del serenissimo Alessandro Giustiniani del 1611, à 6 Aprile sino al 1623*. M.r. VI.5.20 (also F. Ant., m.r. IX.1.25).
Imperiale, Nicolò (under the pseudonym Cassandro Liberti). *Panacea Politica* (1673). F. Ant., m.r. IV.3.13 (also ASG, ms. 986).
Recco, Giovanni. *Historie che trattano la guerra di Corsica in tempo di Sampiero della Bastelica et altro incominciando dall'anno 1550 sino all'anno 1570*. F. Ant., m.r. VII.3.8.

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

Given the preponderance of anonymous texts in the BNCF codices, these manuscripts are listed in chronological order.

Riforma dello Statuto del Porto e Terra di Livorno, promulgata nel 1565 (97 capitoli; salta dal 75 al 81). II.4, ff. 1–25; (*Documenti relativi al Porto e alla Dogana di Livorno fino a 27 dic. 1636*, ff. 26–32).

Paolo e Uberto (1575). II.IV.312 (ex-Magl. Cl. XXV no. 341), ff. 149–70 (also in ASCG/BS 103.A.3, ff. 38–73 as *Dialogho Fra Paulo, Uberto e Luciano*).

Lettere di Matteo Senarega (from Rome October 8, 1575–April 11, 1576). II.III.476, ff. 1–66.

Relatione compitissima della Repubblica di Genova con discorso del suo governo et Leggi fatta l'anno 1597. II.V.42, ff. 33–185 (a more complete version, and probably the oldest extant copy of this manuscript can be found in the ASG, Biblioteca, ms. 129).

Memoriale del signore Francesco Saluzzo Generale delle Galere della Repubblica di Genova datto l'anno 1606 a 25 di Agosto al marchese santa Croce Generale delle Galee del Re di Spagna, quando si giontaro li stuoli di Galee de Potentati del mondo contra li Infedeli. II.III.476.

Risposta della Santa Religione Gierosolomitana alla vana pretensione de Genovesi (ca. 1606). Ms. II.III.476, ff. 98–108.

Discorso fatto sotto mentito nome di Gabriello Fontana sopra l'ostracismo legge cosi nominata l'anno 1607 fatta nelli Consigli Minori et Maggiori in Genova. II.III.476, ff. 111–27.

Lettera di Giulio Pallavicino "Al molto Illustre signore Il signore Ansaldo Grimaldo figlio del Signore Gieronimo mio osservantissimo" (1615). II.III.476, ff. 95–96.

Relatione delli stati forze et Entrate di tutti li Principi d'Italia (1625). II.V.42, ff. 1–32.

Congiura di Genova fatta nel 1628 dal Vacchero, et altri populari. II.IV.286, f. 482r.

Pallavicino, Giulio. *Raccolto delle famiglie Genovesi poste insieme da Giulio di Agostino Pallavicino il quale l'ha ripartite secondo gli anni per non cagionare confusioni né mormorazioni* (1634). II.I.418.

Relatione del successo nel contagio di Genova del 1657. II.IV.195, 4th doc. in codex (ex-Magl. Cl. VIII, no. 1453).

Origine e fasti delle famiglie di Genova (late XVIII century). II.I.414.

Fondo G. Capponi

Discorso tra 'l Re di Spagna Filippo 2° e 'l Duca d'Alva in modo di dialogo sopra Genovesi l'anno 1574. Fondo G. Capponi, cod. XXXVI, ff. 205–69.

Lettera scritta dalli Deputati della Nobiltà vecchia di Genova alla Signoria, li 19 Agosto 1575;

Lettera di Gio Andrea Doria alla Signoria di Genova (August 20, 1575);

Lettera scritta dai Nobili vecchi alla signoria di Genova (September 9, 1575);

Lettera del Granduca di Toscana a Gio Andrea Doria, e risposta del Doria (September and October 1575);

Lettera di Gio Andrea Doria alla Signoria di Genova (October 31, 1575).

Fondo G. Capponi, cod. XXXVI, ff. 157–204.

Discorso ai Genovesi per le cose di Finale, l'anno 1599. Fondo G. Capponi, cod. XXXIX, ff. 473– 88.

Relatione delle Dignità, officij, guardie, consegli, audienze, redite, spese et carichi di guerra. De tutti li Arcivescovi, Vescovi; di tutte le famiglie nobili; di tutti li Prencipi, Duchi, Marchesi et Conti; la famiglia, lo stato, et le rendite di ciascuno, con molti altri particolari degni di consideratione della Corte, e Regni di Spagna (1620). Fondo G. Capponi, cod. CCXIV, ff. 1–112.

Memoria del signor di Santalon al Re Cristianissimo, intorno alle cose di Genova, e stato di quella Repubblica. Fondo G. Capponi, cassetta III, no. XVI.

Della Torre, Raffaele. *Esame delle preminenze reali della Repubblica di Genova nella corte di Roma.* Fondo G. Capponi, cod. CXXIX, ff. 57–78.

Fondo Magliabecchiano

Canzone di monsignore Uberto Foglietta Genovese (ca. 1575). Magl. Cl. XXX cod. 23, ff. 32–38.

Anonima Scrittura contro La Nobiltà e Governo di Genova dopo scoperta la Congiura del Vacchero (1628). Magl. V. Cl. XXV cod. 185.

Fondo Palatino

Orazione di Silvestro Fazio Medico, fatta in Genova, nela elezzione del Duce Prospero Centurioni. Nel 1575. Palat. 1033, ff. 1v–8r.

Ragguaglio della Natione degli Uscocchi; delle Fuste Turchesche; delle Galere di Ponente, et altri Vascelli armati, che escono in corso a danni del Turco; et parimenti delli Timarioti. Cavato dalla Relazione fatta dal Proveditore dell'Armata Venetiana l'Anno 1584. Palat. 595, ff. 124–46.

Orazione nela presentazione dela berretta al Illustrissimo Cardinale Ascanio Colonna, havuta in Genova nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo il dì 19 gennaio 1587. Palat. 1033, ff. 10–15.

SELECT PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Ansaldo, G. A. *Verità esaminata a favor del Popolo il quale con ingiustizia è tenuto fuori del governo in Genova. Contro alcuni tiranni dell'istesso popolo che già se ne credono impossessati con fraude.* N.p., 1628.

Bonfadio, Giacomo. *Gli Annali di Genova Dall'1528 che ricuperò la libertà, fino al 1550.* Genoa: Eredi Bartoli, 1597.

Botero, Giovanni. *Della ragion di stato e delle cause della grandezza delle città.* Venice: Gioliti, 1598 (first edition, 1589; photo-offset reproduction Bologna: Forni, 1990).

Brignole Sale, Anton Giulio. *Congratulatione fatta a' Serenissimi Collegi della Serenissima Republica di Genova pe'l Nuovo Armamento delle Galee, Da un Cittadino zelante habitante in Napoli.* Genoa: Calenzani, 1642.

Caffaro. *Annali di Caffaro, 1099–1163.* Ed. Gabriella Airaldi. Genoa: Fratelli Frilli, 2002.

Cantini, Lorenzo. *Legislazione toscana raccolta e illustrata da Lorenzo Cantini.* 32 vols. Florence: Stamp. Albizziniana, 1800–1808.

Capelloni, Lorenzo. *Vita di Andrea Doria.* Venice: Gabriel Giolito di Ferrari, 1569.

———. *Ragionamenti varii di Lorenzo Capelloni sopra esempii.* Genoa: Marc'Antonio Belloni, 1576.

Capriata, P. G. *Dell'Historia di Pietro Giovanni Capriata.* 3 vols. Genoa: Calenzano e Farroni (vol. 3, de' Vincenti), 1638–63.

Casoni, Francesco. *Annali della repubblica di Genova nel decimo sesto.* 6 vols. Genoa: Casamara, 1779–1800.

Cebà, Ansaldo. *Il Cittadino di republica.* Genoa: Giuseppe Pavoni, 1617.

———. *Lettere d'Ansaldo Cebà ad Agostino Pallavicino.* Genoa: Giuseppe Pavoni, 1623.

Crescenzio, Bartolomeo. *Della Nautica Mediterranea.* Rome: Bonfadino, 1607.
Della Torre, Raffaele. "Congiura di Giulio Cesare Vachero, descritta." *Archivio Storico Italiano* (1846).
Foglietta, Uberto. *Della Repubblica di Genova. Libri II.* Rome: Blado, 1559.
———. *Dell'istorie di Genova di mons. U.F. patrizio genovesi, libri XII, tradotte per m. Francesco Sardonati cittadino fiorentino.* Genoa: eredi Bartoli, 1597.
———. *Istoria di Mons. Uberto Foglietta nobile genovese della Sacra Lega contra Selim, e d'alcune altre imprese di suoi tempi, cioè dell'impresa del Gerbi, soccorso d'Oram, impresa del Pignon, di Tunisi, & assedio di Malta.* Genoa: Pavoni, 1598.
Giustiniani, Agostino. *Castigatissimi Annali della Repubblica di Genova.* Genoa: Antonio Bellono, 1537.
Guicciardini, Francesco. *Storia d'Italia.* 3 vols. Milan: Garzanti, 1988.
Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Istorie fiorentine.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1857.
Pallavicino, Giulio. *Inventione di Giulio Pallavicino di scriver tutte le cose accadute alli tempi suoi (1583–1589).* Ed. Edoardo Grendi. Genoa: Sagep, 1975.
Pallavicino, Tobia. *Della Navigazione e del commercio. Considerazioni politiche di Tobia Pallavicino del Q. Fabrizio.* Genoa: Guasco, 1656.
Peri, Giovanni Domenico. *Il negotiante.* Venice: presso Gio Giacomo Herz, 1672–73.
Roccatagliata, Antonio. *Annali della Repubblica di Genova dall'anno 1581 all'anno 1607.* Genoa: Canepa, 1873.
Sarpi, Paolo. *Dai "consulti." Il carteggio con l'ambasciatore inglese Sir Dudley Carleton.* Ed. G. and L. Cozzi. Turin: Einaudi, 1979.
Selden, John. *Of the Dominion, or, Ownership of the Sea. Two Books (Writen at first in Latin, and Entituled, Mare Clausum seu, De Dominio Maris, Translated into English; and set forth with som Additional Evidences and Discourses, by Marchamont Nedham).* London: William Du Gard, 1652.
Spinola, Andrea. *Scritti scelti.* Ed. Carlo Bitossi. Genoa: Sagep, 1981.
Targa, Carlo. *Ponderazioni sopra la contrattatione maritima . . .* Genoa: Antonio Maria Scionico, 1692.
Veneroso, Giovanni Battista. *Genio Ligure Risvegliato.* Genoa: Gio Domenico Peri, 1650.

SELECT SECONDARY SOURCES

Airaldi, Gabriella. *Genova e la Liguria nel medioevo.* Turin: UTET, 1986.
Angiolini, Franco. "Nobles et marchands dans l'Italie moderne." In F. Angiolini and Daniel Roche, eds., *Cultures et formations négociantes dans l'Europe moderne.* Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1995.
———. *I Cavalieri e il principe. L'Ordine di Santo Stefano e la società toscana in età moderna.* Florence: Edifir, 1996.
———. "La nobiltà 'imperfetta': cavalieri e commende di S. Stefano nella Toscana moderna." *Quaderni Storici* 26, 78 (1991): 875–99.
Angiolini, Franco, V. Bacagli, and V. Verga, eds. *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III.* Florence: Edifir, 1993.
Balard, Michel. *La Romanie génoise (XIIe–début du XVe siècle).* 2 vols. Genoa: ASLSP, 1978.
———. "Il sistema portuale genovese d'oltremare (secc. XIII–XV)." In Giorgio Doria and Paola Massa Piergiovanni, eds., *Il sistema portuale della Repubblica di Genova.* Genoa: ASLSP, 1988.

Bitossi, Carlo. "'Mobbe' e congiure. Note sulla crisi politica genovese di metà Seicento." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure* 18, 2 (1986).

———. *Il governo dei magnifici. Patriziato e politica a Genova fra Cinque e Seicento.* Genoa: ECIG, 1990.

Black, Christopher. *Early Modern Italy: A Social History.* London: Routledge, 2001.

Bono, Salvatore. *Corsari nel Mediterraneo. Cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio.* Milan: Mondadori, 1993.

Borghesi, Vilma. "Informazioni sulle galee di Andrea Doria nelle Carte Strozziane (1552)." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 2, 1 (1970).

———. "Il magistrato delle galee (1559–1607)." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 3, 1 (1971).

Boyer-Xambeau, M.T., G. Deleplace, and L. Gillard. *Banchieri e principi. Moneta e credito nell'Europa del Cinquecento.* Turin: Einaudi, 1991. Translated from *Monnaie privée et pouvoir des princes* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1986).

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* 2 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

———. *Civilization and Capitalism 15th–18th Century.* 3 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1984.

Brulez, W. "La navigation flamande vers la Mediterranée à la fin du XVIe siècle." *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 36 (1958).

———. "Les transports routiers entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles." In A. Vannini Marx, ed., *Trasporti e sviluppo economico. Secoli XIII–XVIII.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1986.

Burke, Peter. *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Calcagno, Gian Carlo. "La navigazione convogliata a Genova nella seconda metà del Seicento." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 3, 1 (1971).

———. "Rotte e tempi di percorrenza nel Mediterraneo occidentale nel secolo XVII." In A. Vannini-Marx, ed., *Trasporti e sviluppo economico. Secoli XIII–XVIII.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1986.

Calegari, Manlio. "Navi e barche a Genova tra il XV e il XVI secolo." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 2, 1 (1970).

———. "Legname e costruzioni navali nel Cinquecento." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 3, 1 (1971).

Carande, Ramón. *Carlos V y sus Banqueros.* 3 vols. Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1943–67.

Castillo Pintado, A. "Dette flottante et dette consolidé en Espagne de 1557 à 1600." *Annales E.S.C.* 4 (1963).

———. "Mecanismos de base de la hacienda de Felipe IV." In R. Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Historia de España*, vol. 25. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982.

Cavaciocchi, Simonetta, ed. *I porti come impresa economica.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1988.

———., ed. *L'impresa industria commercio banca secc. XIII–XVIII.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1991.

Chabod, Federico. *Scritti sul Rinascimento.* Turin: Einaudi, 1967.

Chaudhuri, Kirti. "The Containment of Islam and the Background to European Expansion." In F. Fernandez-Armesto, ed., *The Global Opportunity.* Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.

Chaunu, Pierre. *L'expansion européenne du XIIIe au XVe siècle.* 2nd ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983.

———. *Conquête et exploitation des nouveaux mondes XVIe siècle.* 4th ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991.

Cipolla, Carlo. *Tecnica, società e cultura. Alle origini della supremazia tecnologica dell'Europa (XIV–XVII secolo).* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989.

———. *Le tre rivoluzioni e altri saggi di storia economica e sociale.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989.

———. *Il Burocrate e il marinaio. La "Sanità" toscana e le tribolazioni degli inglesi a Livorno nel XVII secolo.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992.

———. *Tre storie extra vaganti.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994.

Cochrane, Eric. *Italy, 1530–1630.* Ed. J. Kirshner. London: Longman, 1988.

Costantini, Claudio. "Aspetti della politica navale genovese nel Seicento." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 1, 1 (1970).

———. *La Repubblica di Genova.* Turin: UTET, 1986.

Cozzi, Gaetano. *La repubblica di Venezia in Età Moderna.* 2 vols. Turin: UTET, 1986.

D'Arienzo, L. "L'apertura delle rotte atlantiche nell'età delle scoperte: la partecipazione italiana." In *L'uomo e il mare nella civiltà occidentale da Ulisse a Cristoforo Colombo.* Genoa: ASLSP, 1992.

Da Silva, J. G. *Banque et crédit en Italie au XVIIe siècle.* 2 vols. Paris: Klincksieck, 1969.

De Maddalena, Aldo, and Hermann Kellenbenz, eds. *Finanze e ragion di Stato in Italia e in Germania nella prima Età moderna.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1980.

———., eds. *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra XV e XVIII secolo.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986.

Diaz, Furio. *Il Granducato di Toscana—I Medici.* Turin: UTET, 1987.

Domínguez Ortiz, A. *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516–1659.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.

Doria, Giorgio. "Un quadriennio critico: 1575–1578. Contrasti e nuovi orientamenti nella società genovese nel quadro della crisi finanziaria spagnola." In *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII–XX. Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977.

———. "Conoscenza del mercato e sistema informativo: il know-how dei mercanti-finanzieri genovesi nei secoli XVI e XVII." In Aldo De Maddalena and Hermann Kellenbenz, eds., *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra XV e XVII secolo.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986.

———. "La Gestione del porto di Genova dal 1550 al 1797." In Giorgio Doria and Paola Massa Piergiovanni, eds., *Il sistema portuale della Repubblica di Genova.* Genoa: ASLSP, 1988.

———. *Nobiltà e investimenti a Genova in Età moderna.* Genoa: Istituto di storia economica, 1995.

Doria, Giorgio, and Rodolfo Savelli. " 'Cittadini di governo' a Genova: ricchezza e potere tra Cinque e Seicento." In Anna Guarducci, ed., *Gerarchie economiche e gerarchie sociali secoli XII–XVIII.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1990.

Engels, Marie-Christine. *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs: The "Flemish" Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615–1635).* Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 1997.

Epstein, Steven. *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Felloni, Giuseppe. *Gli investimenti finanzieri genovesi in Europa: tra il seicento e la restauazione*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1971.
———. "Distribuzione territoriale della ricchezza privata nel territorio della Repubblica dei genovesi attorno al 1630." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 15, 1 (1983).
———. "Distribuzione territoriale della ricchezza e dei carichi fiscali nella repubblica di Genova (secc. XVI–XVIII)." In Anna Guarducci, ed., *Prodotto lordo e finanza pubblica secoli XIII–XIX*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1988.
Forcheri, G. "Il ritorno allo stato di polizia dopo la costituzione del 1576." *ASLSP*, n.s., 9, 1 (1969).
Frattarelli Fischer, L. "Livorno 1676: la città e il porto franco." In F. Angiolini, V. Becagli, and M. Verga, eds., *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III*. Florence: Edifir, 1993.
Gatti, Luciana. "Compravendita di imbarcazioni mercantili a Genova (1503–1645)." *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, n.s., 3 (1971).
———. *Navi e cantieri della Repubblica di Genova, secc. 16–18*. Genoa: Brigati, 1999.
Giacchero, G. *Origini e sviluppo del portofranco genovese. 11 agosto 1590–9 ottobre 1778*. Genoa: Sagep, 1972.
———. *Il Seicento e le compere di San Giorgio*. Genoa: Sagep, 1979.
Glete, Jan. *Navies and Nations: Warships, Navies and State Building in Europe and America, 1500–1860*. 2 vols. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1993.
———. *Warfare at Sea, 1500–1650*. London: Routledge, 2000.
Greco, L. "Galeotti, ufficiali e mercanti sulle rotte delle galere veneziane del XV secolo." *ASLSP*, n.s., 32, 2 (1992).
Grendi, Edoardo. "Problemi e studi di storia economica genovese (secoli XVI–XVII)." *Rivista Storica Italiana* 4 (1972).
———. *Introduzione alla storia moderna della Repubblica di Genova*. Genoa: Bozzi, 1976.
———. *La repubblica aristocratica dei genovesi*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987.
———. *Il Cervo e la repubblica. Il modello ligure di antico regime*. Turin: Einaudi, 1993.
———. "Gli asientos dei Balbi e il Conte di Villalvilla." *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 106, fasc. 3 (1994).
Grossi Bianchi, L., and E. Poleggi. *Una città portuale del Medioevo. Genova nei secoli X–XVI*. Genoa: Sagep, 1979.
Guilmartin, J. F. *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
Haitsma Mulier, E. O. G. "Genova e l'Olanda nel Seicento: contatti mercantili e ispirazione politica." In R. Belvederi, ed., *Rapporti Genova-Mediterraneo-Atlantico, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi storici*. Genoa: Università di Genova, 1983.
Hay, Denis, and John Law. *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance: 1380–1530*. London: Longman, 1989.
Heers, Jacques. *Gênes au XVe siècle. Activité économique et problèmes sociaux*. Paris: Flammarion, 1971.
———. *Le clan familial au Moyen Age*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974.
———. *L'Occident aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Aspects économiques et sociaux*. 5th ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990.
———. *The Barbary Corsairs: Warfare in the Mediterranean, 1480–1580*. London, Greenhill Books, 2003.

Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History.* London: Blackwell, 2000.

Israel, Jonathan. "England's Mercantilist Response to Dutch World Trade Primacy, 1647–1674." In Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle, eds., *State and Trade: Government and the Economy in Britain and the Netherlands since the Middle Ages.* Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Press, 1992.

———. *The Dutch Republic: It's Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Jauss, Hans Robert. *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.

———. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.

Kedar, Benjamin. *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth Century Depression.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Lane, Frederic. *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934.

———. "Economic Consequences of Organized Violence." *Journal of Economic History* 18, 4 (1958).

———. *Venice: A Maritime Republic.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

———. "Technology and Productivity in Seaborne Transportation." In Anna Vannini Marx, ed., *Trasporti e sviluppo economico. Secoli XIII–XVIII.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1986.

Lapeyre, Henri. "La participation des genois aux 'asientos' de Charles Quint et de Philippe II." In R. Belvederi, ed., *Rapporti Genova-Mediterraneo-Atlantico, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi storici.* Genoa: Università di Genova, 1983.

Laudani, Simona. *La Sicilia della seta.* Catanzaro: Meridiana Libri, 1996.

Lombard, Maurice. *L'Islam dans sa prmière grandeur. VIIIe–XIe siècles.* Paris: Flammarion, 1993.

Lopez, Robert. "Aux origines du capitalisme génois." *Annales E.S.C.* 9 (1937).

———. *Su e giù per la storia di Genova.* Genoa: Università di Genova Istituto di Paleografia e Storia medievale, 1975.

———. *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Lutrell, A. "Late-Medieval Galley Oarsmen." In R. Ragosta, ed., *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo.* Naples: Pironti, 1981.

Mandich, Giulio. "Fiere cambiarie concorrenti (genovesi, fiorentine, veneziane) nel 1622–1652." In Aldo De Maddalena and Hermann Kellenbenz, eds., *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra XV e XVII secolo.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986.

Mantran, Robert. *L'expansion musulmane. VIIe–XIe siècle.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995.

Massa, Paola. "Tipologia industriale e modelli organizzativi: la Liguria in età moderna." In Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *L'impresa industria commercio banca secc. XIII–XVIII.* Florence: Le Monnier, 1991.

Mauro, Fréderic. *Le XVIème siècle européen: aspects économiques.* 3rd ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1981.

———. *L'expansion Européenne (1600–1870).* 3rd ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988.

Muto, Giovanni. "Decretos e medios generales: la gestione delle crisi finanziarie nell'Italia spagnola." In Aldo De Maddalena, and Hermann Kellenbenz, eds., *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra XV e XVII secolo.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986.

Neri, Enrica. *Uomini d'affari e di governo tra Genova e Madrid (secoli XVI e XVII).* Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1989.

Otazu, A., ed. *Dinero y credito (siglos XVI al XIX).* Madrid: Editorial Moneda y Credito, 1978.

Otte, Enrique. "Il ruolo dei Genovesi nella Spagna del XV e XVI secolo." In Aldo De Maddalena and Kellenbenz, Hermann, eds., *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra XV e XVII secolo.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986.

Pacini, Arturo. *I presupposti politici del "secolo dei genovesi." La riforma del 1528.* Genoa: ASLSP, 1990.

Pagano de Devitiis, Gigliola. "L'Italia fuori d'Italia." In R. Romano, ed., *Storia dell'economia italiana*, vol. 2, *L'età moderna: verso la crisi.* Turin: Einaudi, 1991.

———. "Il porto di Livorno fra Inghilterra e Oriente." *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* 1 (1993).

———. *English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Parker, Geoffrey. *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road (1567–1659).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Petracchi, A. *Norma "costituzionale" e prassi nella Serenissima Repubblica di Genova.* Milan: Giuffrè, 1989.

Petti Balbi, Giovanna. *Simon Boccanegra e la Genova del '300.* Genoa: Marietti, 1991.

Pike, Ruth. *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Poleggi, Ennio. "L'arsenale della Repubblica di Genova (1594–1797)." In E. Concina, ed., *Arsenali e città nell'Occidente europeo.* Rome: NIS, 1987.

Presotto, Danilo. "Genova 1656–1657. Cronache di una pestilenza." *ASLSP,* n.s., 5 (1965).

———. "Da Genova alle Indie alla metà del Seicento. Un singolare contratto di arruolamento marittimo." *ASLSP,* n.s., 9, 1 (1969).

Pryor, John H. *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Raggio, Osvaldo. *Faide e parentele. Lo stato genovese visto dalla Fontanabuona.* Turin: Einaudi, 1990.

Romano, Ruggiero. "La marine marchande vénitienne au XVIe siècle." In M. Mollat, ed., *Les sources de l'histoire maritime.* Paris: SEVPEN, 1962.

Rose, Susan. *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000–1500.* London: Routledge, 2002.

Ruiz Martin, Felipe. *Lettres marchandes échangées entre Florence et Medina del Campo.* Paris: SEVPEN, 1965.

———. "La hacienda y los grupos de presiòn en el siglo XVII." In *Estado, Hacienda y Sociedad en la Historia de España.* Valladolid: Istituto de Historia Simancas, 1989.

———. "La banca genovesa en España durante el siglo XVII." *ASLSP,* n.s., 31, 1 (1990).

Savelli, Rodolfo. "La pubblicistica politica genovese durante le guerre civili del 1575." *ASLSP,* n.s., 20 (1980).

———. "Tra Machiavelli e San Giorgio. Cultura giuspolitica e dibattito istituzionale a Genova nel Cinque-Seicento." In Aldo De Maddalena and Hermann Kellenbenz, eds., *Finanze e ragion di Stato in Italia e in Germania nella prima Età moderna*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1980.

———. *La repubblica oligarchica. Legislazione, istituzioni e ceti a Genova nel Cinquecento*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1981.

———. "Giovanni Andrea Doria." In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 41. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992.

———. "Modèles juridiques et culture marchande entre 16e et 17e siècles." In Franco Angiolini and Daniel Roche, eds., *Cultures et formations négociantes dans l'Europe moderne*. Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1995.

Sivori, G. "Il tramonto dell'industria serica genovese." *Rivista Storica Italiana* 4 (1972).

Spagnoletti, Angelantonio. *Prìncipi italiani e Spagna nell'età barocca*. Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 1996.

Stone, L. *An Elizabethan—Sir Horatio Pallavicino*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Subrahmanyam, S. "On the Significance of Gadflies: The Genoese East India Company of the 1640s." *Journal of European Economic History* 17, 3 (1988).

Thompson, I. A. A. *War and Government in Habsburg Spain, 1560–1620*. London: Athlone Press, 1976.

Tucci, Ugo. "Traffici e navi nel Mediterraneo in età moderna." In T. Fanfani, ed., *La Penisola Italiana e il Mare. Costruzioni navali, trasporti e commerci tra XV e XX secolo*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1993.

Verlinden, C. "Italian Influences in Iberian Colonization." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 33 (1953).

———. "The Transfer of Colonial Techniques from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic." In *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization: Eleven Essays with an Introduction*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Vitale, Vito. *Breviario della storia di Genova: lineamenti storici ed orientamenti bibliografici*. 2 vols. Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1955.

This page intentionally left blank

Index

Acre, 9
Adorno, Antoniotto, 17, 23
Adorno, Antoniotto (II), 17–19
Adorno family, 18–20, 23, 28, 53, 56
Adriatic Sea, 94
Aegean Sea, 9–10, 12
Alassio, 163
alberghi, 16, 24–27, 31–32
Alexandria (Egypt), 8
Algarve, 15
Algiers, 61, 118
Alicante, 146
al-Mahdiyya (Mahdia), 8
Amalfi, 8
Amsterdam, 36, 52, 181
Ancona, 255n. 111
Anglo-Dutch wars, 138, 185, 199
Antibes, 163
Antilles, 13
Antioch, 9
Antwerp, 13–14, 46, 88, 227n. 12
Aragon, 15
arsenal, 76, 98, 105, 115, 118, 124, 156–58
Arte della Seta (silk manufacturers guild), 64, 65, 67
asentistas. See *asiento*
asentistas de galeras (galley contractors), 20–21, 42–45, 56, 58–59, 64, 70, 92, 98, 101, 211n. 35
asiento, financial contract, 29, 31, 63–66, 69, 89, 90–91, 103, 142, 211n. 35
asiento de galeras, contract for the supply of galleys. See *asentistas de galeras*

Balbi, Nicolò, 89
Banca di San Giorgio (Bank of Saint George). See *Casa di San Giorgio*
Barbary corsairs, 60, 71, 73, 75, 92, 109, 118–19, 190
Barcelona, 87, 198
Bassà, Sinam, 76
Bastia, 119, 134
Batavia (Indonesia), 130
Berengar II (king of Italy), 10
Besançon fairs, 211n. 40
Biscayan shipping, 35
Biserta, 118
Black Sea, 9, 10, 12
Boccanegra, Simon, 18, 23, 26, 56, 211n. 43
Bonfadio, Giacomo, 53
Borghesi, Vilma, 61
Borgia, Melchior, 107
Botero, Giovanni, 46
Braudel, Fernand, ix, 45
Brazil, 131–32, 199
Brignole, Emanuele, 241n. 63
Brignole, Giovanni Carlo, 235n. 135
Brignole Sale, Anton Giulio, 118–21, 124, 139, 199, 237nn. 12&13
Byzantine Empire, 15

Cádiz, 13–14, 138, 142–46, 179, 193–94
Caesarea, 9
Caffaro, 9
Cagliari (Sardinia), 135
Cairo, 9
Calcagno, Gian Carlo, 87
Calicut, 12
Calvi (Corsica), 55
Camera, 27, 104, 112, 171
Campodonego, Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 140
Canary Islands, 15

Candian War, 125–26, 129, 138
cannon, 39, 40
Cape of Good Hope, 13, 182
Capellone, Lorenzo, 64
Caracciolo, Tommaso, 100
Carande, Ramón, 30
caravel, 40
Carlo Emmanuele (duke of Savoy), 103–4
Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum, 8
carrack, 38–40
Cartagena, 136
Casa di San Giorgio, 15, 48, 50, 56–57, 61, 65, 71, 89, 96, 99, 100, 111, 124, 132, 136–38, 156–62, 167–69, 171–72, 174–77, 189, 194; income of, 48, 216n. 68, 233n. 121; internal organization, 47; subsidies for shipbuilding, 36, 131, 136, 169
Casale, 68, 70
Casoni, Francesco, 102, 103
Cassiodorus, 6
Castile, 15, 21, 102
Cateau-Cambrésis, peace of, 55
Cattaneo, Alessandro, 90
Cavalieri di Santo Stefano (Knights of Saint Stephen), 113–14, 167, 234n. 133
Cebà, Lazaro, 234n. 130
Centurione, Adamo, 53
Centurione, Agostino, 234n. 130
Centurione, Cosma, 41, 42, 43
Centurione, Francesco, 93, 94
Centurione, Gio Steffano, 234n. 130
Centurione, Ippolito, 140
Centurione, Luciano, 41
Centurione, Ottavio, 89
Centurione, Vincenzo, 43
Ceuta, 13
Champagne (fairs), 12
Charles II (king of England), 214n. 41
Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain), 14, 16, 19–20, 22, 29–31, 41, 44, 52–54, 56, 59, 93, 196
Charles VI (king of France), 17
Charles VIII (king of France), 15
Chiavari, Luca, 139
China, 12
Chioggia, War of, 9
Chios, 12; *maona* of, 25
Cigala, Odoardo, 41, 76
Cigala, Visconte, 76
Civitavecchia, 160, 172, 173, 177, 178
Clement VII (pope), 41
cog, 38
Collegi (senate, *camera*, and doge in joint session), 20, 27, 56–57, 59, 68, 78, 81, 83, 89–91, 108, 118, 125, 141–42, 146, 158–59, 161, 168, 171, 173–75
Colonna, Ascanio (cardinal), 77
Columbus, Christopher, 11, 13, 198
Compagnia di Nostra Signora di Libertà, 112–15, 117–18, 123, 125, 127, 129, 133, 147, 190–91, 193, 234n. 130, 235nn. 135&144
Compagnia Genovese delle Indie Orientali (Genoese East India Company), 129–32, 149, 192–93, 199, 240n. 58
Compagnia marittima di San Giorgio, 131–32, 144, 149, 192–93, 199, 240n. 58, 241n. 63
Consiglio degli Anziani (Council of Elders), 21, 23
Consoli del Comune, 10
Constantinople (Istanbul), 12
convoys, 129, 135, 137, 142–47, 149–50, 170, 174–75, 179, 185, 192–94, 199–200, 245n. 124
Corone, 93
Corsica, 9, 11, 32, 46–47, 54–55, 58–62, 64–65, 73–74, 79, 118–19, 123, 154, 156, 173, 201
Cosimo I (grand duke of Tuscany), 164, 165
Cosimo III (grand duke of Tuscany), 183
Costantini, Claudio, 137, 240n. 58
Crescenzio, Bartolomeo, 76
Crete, 140
crew sizes, 40, 212n. 37, 239n. 42
Cyprus, 10, 15

da Corte, Scipione, 78
da Gama, Vasco. *See* Gama, Vasco da
da Varagine, Jacopo, 7
De Ferrari, Giovanni Battista, 242n. 82
de Guzmán, Gaspar. *See* Olivares, Count of
Della Torre, Raffaele, 108, 139, 237n. 13
Della Torre, Tomaso, 234n. 130

De Marini, Cosimo, 29
De Marini, Gerolamo, 139, 241n. 63
De Marini, Giovanni Antonio, 41, 42, 43
de Melo, Francisco, 106
Di Negro, Ambrogio, 81
Di Negro, Giuliano Agostino, 241n. 63
doge, 53, 59, 108
doge (*duce*), election of, 27, 82, 89
Donà, Leonardo, 44
Doria, Andrea, x, 16–17, 19–22, 30–31, 41, 43–44, 51–58, 60, 63–64, 85, 93, 109, 187, 216n. 7
Doria, Antonio, 41
Doria, Carlo (son of Gian Andrea Doria), 85, 92, 95, 101, 106–107, 115, 134
Doria, Carlo (great-grandson of Gian Andrea Doria), 136, 141, 201
Doria, Gian Andrea (Giovanni Andrea), 41–45, 53, 62, 70, 72–73, 75–83, 89, 92, 93, 135, 222n. 96; general of Spanish Mediterranean fleet, 71, 76, 224n. 133
Doria, Giannettino (nephew of Andrea Doria), 53
Doria, Giannettino (son of Gian Andrea), 85, 95, 134–35
Doria, Giorgio, ix, 30
Doria, Melchior, 65
Doria, Nicolò, 81, 241n. 63
Doria, Oberto, 23
Doria, Ottavio, 199
Doria, Thomaso, 65
Doria family, 23, 26, 56, 65, 135
Durazzo, Giacomo Filippo, 139
Durazzo, Gio Agostino (Giovanni Agostino), 199
Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*), 110, 129, 133
Dutch shipping, 33, 35, 130, 145, 147, 246n. 129

Egypt, 12
England, 10, 12, 130, 141–42, 145, 164, 166, 175, 181–82, 185, 195–96, 198
Enriquez de Acevedo, Pedro (count of Fuentes), 80
Epstein, Steven, 8, 9

famine, 59, 107, 157, 187
Federici, Federico, 237n. 13
Felloni, Giuseppe, ix
Ferdinand I (grand duke of Tuscany), 164–65
Ferdinand II (grand duke of Tuscany), 183
Fieschi, Gian Luigi (Giovanni Luigi), 53, 56, 217n. 18
Fieschi, Sinibaldo (financier active at the court of Philip III), 89
Fieschi, Sinibaldo (Genoese resident in Istanbul), 199
Fieschi, Ugo, 137, 140
Fieschi family, 23
Filiberto (duke of Savoy), 92, 94
Finale, 79–80, 91, 106, 138, 141–42
First Crusade, 9
Flanders, 10, 12–13, 44, 83, 136, 178
Florence, 52, 162, 177, 227n. 12
Foglietta, Uberto, 24, 55–60, 62–63, 109, 187, 189–92, 195, 217n. 10
Fornari, Giovanni Battista, 53
Fornari family 24, 26, 31
France, 12, 14, 16, 46, 54–56, 60–61, 63, 79, 86, 104–5, 107, 117, 126, 130, 133, 140–42, 163–64, 166, 170, 197–98, 201
Franchi, Gerolamo de, 241n. 63
Franchi, Marco de, 241n. 63
Franchi (De Franchi) *albergo*, 24, 26
Francis I (king of France), 16–21, 22, 41, 52, 54
Franzone, Paolo Gerolamo, 241n. 63
free port, 151, 154–55, 157–68, 170–85, 187, 193–98, 201
Fregoso, Cesare, 18–20, 52
Fregoso, Ottaviano, 17, 18, 41
Fregoso family, 18–20, 23, 28, 53, 56
Fuentes. *See* Enriquez de Acevedo, Pedro
Fugger bankers, 29

Gaeta, 8
galleys: merchandise shipped in, 39; as military vessels, 38; operating costs of, 42, 75, 96, 112, 116, 127, 167, 203–8, 214n. 50, 229n. 48, 234n. 125, 244n. 95; ownership of, 41–45; as source of prestige, 45, 77
Gama, Vasco da, 11, 13, 198

Garbarino, Emmanuele, 101
Garfagnana, 86
garibetto, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 63, 67
Genoa: alliance with Spain, 51–52, 54, 59, 77, 84–85, 97, 99–100, 102, 105–6, 109, 118–19, 167, 188, 191, 193, 200–201; civil war in, 63, 67, 69, 70, 82; communal government of, 9–10; creation of overseas empire, 9–10; factional divisions in, 22–24; financial involvement with Spanish crown, 29–31, 38, 46, 51, 56, 63, 66, 69, 84, 88–91, 110, 166, 189, 191, 192, 198, 210n. 27; fiscal and financial structure, 46, 50, 98, 102–3, 109, 137, 156, 165–66, 168–69, 171, 189, 194, 251n. 72, 252n. 80, 253n. 93; foreign domination of, 16–19; formation of territorial state, 9–10; French bombardment of, x, 201, 202; geography of, 4–5; population of, 52, 144, 216n. 1, 245n. 116; port traffic, 33–35, 64, 144, 162, 163, 164, 174, 176, 178; reforms of 1528, 22–28; shipping capacity, 33–35, 64
Genoese East India Company. See *Compagnia Genovese delle Indie Orientali*
Genoese shipping, ownership of, 37
Gentile, Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 81
Gentili, Pietro Maria, 235n. 135
Germany, 12
Giacchero, Giulio, 240n. 58
Giustiniani, Alessandro, 99, 101
Giustiniani, Ansaldo, 59–60, 62, 189–90, 192
Giustiniani, Francesco Maria, 112, 234n. 130
Giustiniani, Galeazzo, 100, 112, 115, 234n. 130
Giustiniani, Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 89
Giustiniani, Gio Giorgio (Giovanni Giorgio), 126
Giustiniani, Giovanni Ottavio, 241n. 63
Giustiniani, Luca, 95, 107
Giustiniani, Pompeo, 199
Giustiniani, Raffaele, 139
Giustiniani *albergo*, 24–26, 210n. 21
Glete, Jan, xi, 209n. 2
Gregory XIII (pope), 68
Grendi, Edoardo, ix, 45, 64, 152, 238n. 26
Grillo, Agapito, 41–43
Grimaldi, Alessandro, 138
Grimaldi, Antonio, 81
Grimaldi, Francesco, 74, 77–78, 190
Grimaldi, Giorgio, 41
Grimaldi, Nicolò, 42
Grimaldi, Ottavio, 234n. 130
Grimaldi family, 23, 41

Habsburg-Valois wars, 15, 52, 54, 58
Hanseatic shipping, 33, 35
Holland. *See* United Provinces
Holy Roman Empire, 14
hulk, 38

Iberian Peninsula, 10, 15–16, 21, 85, 87, 148, 196, 200
Ibiza, 36
Idiaquez, Juan, 222n. 96
Imperiale, Alessandro, 241n. 63
Imperiale, Francesco, 242n. 82
Imperiale, Gio Vincenzo (Giovanni Vincenzo), 94
Imperiale, Nicolò, 115, 129, 167, 174
Imperiale Lercaro, Francesco Maria, 241n. 63
India, 12, 13
Indian Ocean, 11–14, 131, 132, 198
insurance, 88, 137, 145, 242n. 76
Istanbul, 146, 199. *See also* Constantinople

jactus navium, 40
Japan, 130
Jauss, Hans Robert, xi, 190
Jerusalem, 9
juros, Spanish financial obligations, 30, 66, 88, 90–91, 102–3, 107

Knights of Saint John of Malta, 92–96, 108, 139, 143, 201
Knights of Saint Stephen. See *Cavalieri di Santo Stefano*

La Penna, 101
La Spezia, 32, 91, 93

Lazagna, Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 139
Lazagna, Gio Benedetto (Giovanni Benedetto), 82
League of Cambrai, 17
Leges Novae, 68, 105
Leghorn. *See* Livorno
Lepanto, battle of, 41, 61, 71, 93
Lercaro, Orazio, 76, 83
Lerici, 10
Levant, the, 15, 113, 125, 128, 133, 138–40, 144, 169, 172, 183, 199, 227n. 12
Liber Nobilitatis, 26–27
licencias de saca (permits to export bullion from Spain), 29, 44
Ligurian Sea, 47, 94, 106, 108–9, 112, 117, 138, 141, 143, 168, 202
Lippomanno, Girolamo, 79
Lisbon, 13, 132, 144, 179, 198
Livorno (Leghorn), 64, 112, 119, 144, 154–55, 157, 159–61, 163–66, 172–73, 175, 177–85, 194, 196
Lombardy, 155, 160, 166, 197
Lomellini, Agostino, 62
Lomellini, Filippo, 71, 225n. 145
Lomellini, Francesco, 62
Lomellini, Giacomo, 118, 230n. 56
Lomellini, Giovanni Agostino, 235n. 135
Lomellini, Orazio, 77
Lomellini, Pietro Battista, 41
Lomellini family, 70–71, 81
London, 52
Longone, 134
Lopez, Robert, 7, 15
Louis XII (king of France), 15, 17, 18
Louis XIV (king of France), 201
Lucca, 86, 100, 162, 177
Lyon, 16, 22

Machiavelli, Niccolò, 48, 50
Madeira, 15
Madrid, 77, 79, 90
Maggior Consiglio (Greater Council), 26–27, 53, 56, 59, 65, 68, 93, 105, 141–42, 160, 162, 176, 189
Magistrato dei cambi, 90
Magistrato del nuovo armamento (Magistracy of the new armament), 140, 147
Magistrato dell'arsenale, 118, 157, 234n. 125, 236n. 8
Magistrato delle galere (also *Ufficio delle galere*, Magistracy/Office of the Galleys), 55, 58–62, 64, 75, 78, 86, 96–97, 112–13, 115, 127, 156, 167, 189–90
Majorca, 75
Malta, 93, 94, 176; siege of, 61
Marignano, battle of, 17
Marseille, 79, 112, 163, 170, 172, 182–84, 195–96, 198, 201
Masaniello (Tommaso Aniello), 126
medio general, 69, 88, 103
Messina, 62, 64, 75–76, 78, 86–87, 94, 112, 114, 118, 125–26, 128, 201
Mexico, 13
Milan, 79–80, 91, 102, 136, 161
Milan (duchy of), 21, 100, 142
Minor Consiglio (Smaller Council), 26, 56–57, 65, 68, 78, 81, 93, 97, 118, 139, 141, 154, 159, 161–62
Modena, 86
Monaco, 171
Monferrat, 68, 86, 105, 161, 162
Monte Carlo, 160
Morone, Giovanni (cardinal), 68
Morosini, Francesco, 86
Mujahid (ruler of Denia), 8

Naples, 76, 78, 105, 115, 126, 162, 176, 201
Naples (kingdom of), 21, 76, 86, 126, 142, 153, 155, 159, 160, 166, 201
navigation acts (English), 181, 183, 196
Negrone, Ambrogio, 41
Negrone, Luca, 81
Neri, Enrica, 103
new nobles. See *nobili nuovi*
Nice, 172
nobili, faction in Genoa, 19–20, 23–24, 26, 28
nobili nuovi, 27–28, 31, 47, 53–58, 60, 63–70, 80–82, 89, 118–19, 191
nobili vecchi, 25, 27–28, 31, 47, 54–58, 63–70, 80–82, 89, 118–19, 191–92
nobles. See *nobili*
North Sea, 12, 180
Novara, battle of, 17

Novi, 197
nuovo armamento, 118, 120, 123–24, 126–28, 133, 136, 143, 150, 167–69, 192–93, 197, 199

old nobles. See *nobili vecchi*
Olivares, Count of (Gaspar de Guzmán, Duke of San Lucar) 102–3
Oneglia, 101
Ormea, 101
Ottoman Empire, 12, 15, 46, 54, 60–61, 71–72, 113, 125, 146, 153, 167, 197, 199–200, 234n. 133

Pacini, Arturo, 16, 30
Padri del comune, 168
Palermo, 95, 119, 144
Pallavicino, Agostino, 139, 237n. 13
Pallavicino, Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 125
Papal States, 94
Passano, Filippo, 82
Paul V (pope), 93
Peri, Gio Domenico (Giovanni Domenico), 87, 128, 129
Persia, 12
Persian Gulf, 12
Peru, 13
Philip II (king of Spain), 31, 42–44, 60, 65, 68, 70–72, 77–79, 102, 155, 166, 196, 222n. 96
Philip III (king of Spain), 80, 88–89, 91–93
Philip IV (king of Spain), 14, 101–2, 104–5, 107, 135–36
Phocaea, 12, 15
Piacenza exchange fairs, xiii, 50, 69, 88–91, 98, 131, 227n. 12
Piedmont, 101, 102, 161, 162
Pinello, Agostino, 234n. 130
piracy, 72, 116, 128, 135, 167, 247n. 137
pirates, 60, 86, 135, 145–46, 168, 169
Pirenne, Henri, 6
Pisa, 8, 11, 127, 185
plague, 19, 117, 143–44, 176–81, 196
Polanyi, Karl, xi
Ponza, battle of, 41
popolari, faction in Genoa, 19–20, 23–24, 26, 28
Portovenere, 10
Portugal, 131, 179, 199; overseas expansion, 11–14, 197
Prevesa, battle of, 41
Priuli, Piero, 228n. 32
procuratori (procurators), 20, 108
procuratori perpetui (procurators for life), 20, 27, 81
Promontorio family, 24, 26
Provençal shipping, 35
Provence, 153, 164
Pyrenees, Treaty of the, 170

quiebra. *See* suspension of payments

Raggio, Uberto, 139
Raggio Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 138, 141
Ragusa (Dubrovnik), 35, 198; shipping in, 35–37
Recco, Giovanni, 59, 64
Recco, Stefano, 65
Red Sea, 12
Robinson, Henry, 181
Roccatagliata, Antonio, 70, 72, 81, 83
Rome, 142, 176
Rothari (king of the Lombards), 6
Ruiz Martin, Felipe, ix, 29

Salerno, 8
salute, among ships, 77–78, 81
Sampierdarena (San Pietro d'Arena), 110
Sampiero della Bastelica (*also* Sampiero Corso or Sampiero di Bastelica), 54
San Remo, 117, 163
Santa Cruz, Marquis of, 92, 95, 100–102
Sardinia, 8, 11, 75, 118–19, 176
Sarpi, Paolo, 229n. 41
Sassello, 90, 91
Sauli, Antonio Maria (cardinal), 76
Sauli, Bendinelli, 41
Sauli, Francesco Maria, 241n. 63
Sauli, Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 89
Sauli, Giovanni Antonio, 242n. 82

Sauli family, 24, 26
Savelli, Rodolfo, IX, 65
Savona, 18–21, 110, 162–64, 170–72, 201, 237n. 12
Savoy, 86, 92, 100–105, 135, 163–64, 166. *See also* Piedmont
Sea of Azov, 10, 12
Selden, John, 181
Senato (Senate), 27, 60, 69, 71, 74, 77–80, 90, 93, 95, 106–8, 113–14, 120, 124, 126, 130, 133, 136, 139–40, 143, 147, 154
Serra, Battista, 89
Seville, 13–14, 16, 22, 135, 198
Sforza, Francesco (duke of Milan), 17
Sforza, Ludovico "il Moro" (duke of Milan), 17–18
Sforza, Massimiliano (duke of Milan), 18
shipping, ownership of, 45
ship types, 38–40
Sicily, 64, 76, 78, 86, 115, 126, 153, 159, 161, 163–64, 170–73, 201
silk: manufacture of, 64–65, 190, 211n. 39, 254n. 95; transport of, 44, 62, 64–66, 75, 86, 112, 115–16, 118, 125, 127–28, 223n. 121, 236n. 146, 242n. 73
silver: contraband of, 44, 136, 138, 146–47, 150; transport of, 87–88, 101, 107, 136, 146–47, 150, 169, 193–94, 198
Smyrna, 146, 199
Sori, 72–73
Soria, Lope de, 17, 211n. 37
Spain, 16, 21, 47, 51, 55, 60, 65, 67, 71–72, 77–79, 84–86, 90–91, 97, 104, 113, 126, 130, 133, 135–36, 138, 140–42, 145–46, 148, 159, 164–66, 170, 175, 179, 187, 190, 193, 197, 199–201; naval power, 42, 45, 71, 72; overseas expansion, 11–14
Spinola, Alessandro, 237n. 13
Spinola, Ambrogio, 43
Spinola, Ambrogio (marquis of Los Balbases), 70, 81–83
Spinola, Andrea (doge), 105
Spinola, Andrea (political commentator), 44–45, 89, 97, 99, 237n. 13
Spinola, Carlo, 71, 81
Spinola, Dioniso, 81
Spinola, Giannettino, 75, 81
Spinola, Gio Batta (Giovanni Battista), 81
Spinola, Gio Francesco (Giovanni Francesco), 90
Spinola, Lazaro (son of Giovanni Domenico), 234n. 130
Spinola, Lazaro (son of Paolo Agostino), 235n. 135
Spinola, Leonardo, 64, 77–78, 81, 135
Spinola, Nicola, 65
Spinola, Oberto, 23
Spinola family, 23, 26, 56, 65
Strait of Gibraltar, 156–58, 161, 163, 166, 170, 172–73
Strata, Carlo, 89
Suárez de Figueroa, Gómez, 60, 211n. 37
supremi sindicatori, 20, 27, 56–57, 81
suspension of payments, 66, 68, 71, 84, 88–89, 98, 102, 104, 109, 159, 200, 228n. 22
Syria, 15

Tabarka, 71, 81–82, 225n. 145, 230n. 56
Tana, 12, 15
Tangier, 181–82, 184, 195–96
Texel (United Provinces), 130
Thirty Years' War, 96, 105, 126, 130, 133, 169
Tiber river, 160
Tolfa, 15
Trapani, 95
Trebizond, 12, 15
Trieste, 255n. 111
Tripoli (Lebanon), 9
Trivulzio, Teodoro, 19
Tunis, 54, 59, 93, 94
Turin, 102
Tuscany, Grand Duchy of, 61, 94, 114, 165
Tyrrhenian Sea, 106

Ufficio delle Galere. See *Magistrato delle Galere*
Ufficio di Abbondanza, 86, 156
Ufficium Salis, 36
United Provinces, 106, 116, 130–31, 137, 141–42, 145, 164, 175, 185, 198

Urban VIII (pope), 108

Vaccà, David, 81, 83
Vacchero, Giulio Cesare, 104–5
Veneroso, Gio Bernardo (Giovanni Bernardo), 119, 122, 134, 139–40, 235n. 135, 237nn. 12&13, 241n. 63
Venice, 9, 12–13, 37, 94, 125, 127, 138–42, 172, 185, 198, 225n. 145, 227n. 12, 228n. 32, 229n. 41; population of, 52; shipping capacity, 35
Vervins, treaty of, 79
Via Aemilia Scauri, 5
Via Francigena, 6
Via Postumia, 5, 10
Viareggio, 163, 170
Victor III (pope), 8
Villefranche, 86, 172
Violet, Thomas, 181
Visconti, Filippo Maria (duke of Milan), 17
Visconti, Gian Galeazzo (duke of Milan), 17
Visconti family, 23
Voltaggio, 10

War of Mantuan Succession, 103
Welser bankers, 29
Westphalia, Peace of, 126
Worsely, Benjamin, 181

Zuccarello, 100